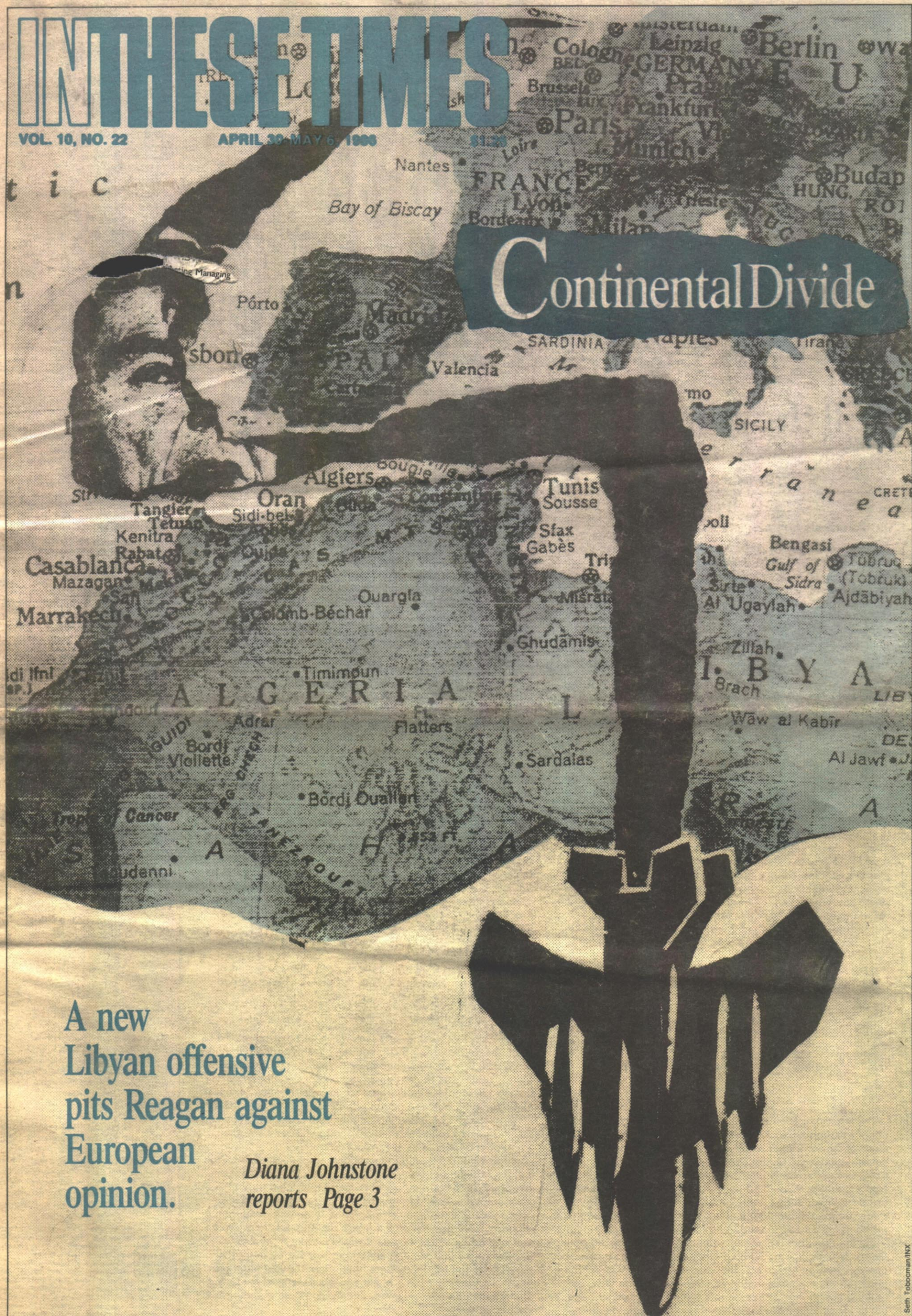


IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 10, NO. 22

APRIL 30 - MAY 6, 1986



A new
Libyan offensive
pits Reagan against
European
opinion.

*Diana Johnstone
reports Page 3*

Lightening the Rainbow

5

Mississippi school board blues

6

African socialism

7

Rust belt politics

8

Haymarket's hundredth

12

The Aryan airwaves

14



Will they respect him in the morning?

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

Pusillanimous pundits

The fact that the general public overwhelmingly supported the administration's April 14 bombing raid was not surprising. Americans generally support dramatic and short-lived displays of force against presumed adversaries. For instance, in May 1975, when the Ford administration sent in planes and marines to rescue the 39 crewmen of the *Mayaguez* who had been seized by the Cambodians, White House phone calls ran eight to one in favor. The public also supported the invasion of Grenada and two earlier skirmishes with the Libyans off the Gulf of Sidra.

What was surprising was the unanimity with which liberal columnists and politicians greeted the invasion, from the *New York Times'* Anthony Lewis to Massachusetts Sen. Tip O'Neill. Lewis' apostasy was particularly telling. In 1975, Lewis branded the *Mayaguez* rescue mission "barbarous." "Once again an American government shows that the only way it knows how to deal with frustration is by force," he wrote. "Using a sledgehammer to crack a nut is self-defeating for nations as for individuals."

But he justified the Libyan bombing raid. "For now it is enough to recognize, with whatever regret, that this American military action did have its reasons: that there was a rational relationship between means and ends. To oppose state terrorism is a price of civilization in these ugly times."

Other liberals were even more forthcoming. The *Washington Post's* David Broder called the bombing raid "a necessary and proper step." Sen. Edward Kennedy said, "I think all Americans would stand with their commander in chief at this moment." And House Speaker Tip O'Neill declared, "All this started because of the evil heart of a bad man. He has to be brought to his knees."

THE STORY INSIDE

The liberals' reaction was not simply knee-jerk jingoism, but rather a capitulation to Reagan's popularity and to the revanchist mood of the American people. In some cases, capitulation is simple opportunism. During the Grenadan invasion, liberal Congressman Michael Barnes told the *Washington Post* that he supported the invasion, but told liberal constituents in his district that he opposed it. Last week, a leading Democratic presidential contender for 1988 told close associates that he was opposed to the bombing, but had to support it publicly.

But in other cases, capitulation is both gradual and unconscious. On the *New York Times*, Anthony Lewis and Tom Wicker are like survivors from an earlier era. The *Times'* managing editor, A.M. Rosenthal, has become an outspoken neo-conservative who has banished liberals from the newsroom and has published so-called terror expert Claire Sterling's theories as front page exclusives. Pressure to adjust one's perspective—on Libya, if not Nicaragua—becomes overpowering.

Concerned citizenry

But both liberal and popular support for Reagan's Libyan obsession may still prove fleeting. While the public supported the bombing raid, it will not countenance a protracted war between themselves

and the myriad groups willing to act on behalf of the Libyans.

Reagan's pollster Richard Wirthlin acknowledged the problem that the president faces if terrorists step up their killings in response to the bombing raid. "Those things will determine how this will be viewed a month and a half from now, which may be something different than the way people are now considering it," Wirthlin said.

Public opinion analyst William Schneider, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, sees the same problem looming for the Reagan administration. According to Schneider, the public "approves of punishing terrorists," but "wants to ask only one question: 'How much risk is involved.' By pursuing a more activist foreign policy, we may risk stimulating terrorist retaliation, hurting innocent people, hampering arms control negotiations, getting involved in other countries' problems or even starting a war. To Americans, these are unacceptable risks."

Schneider shows how Americans' response to questions about terrorist reprisals changes dramatically if the risks are spelled out. In a CBS-*New York Times* poll earlier this year, a majority of Americans favored military action against terrorists and governments that support terrorism. But "if some innocent people might get killed" in the process, only 31 percent support reprisals. After the Rome and Vienna attacks, 53 percent of Americans supported military action in an ABC-*Washington Post* poll. But the figure dropped to 32 percent "if that means risking a larger war."

The gender gap also showed up in polls about the bombing raid. In the ABC-*Washington Post* poll the evening of the raid, 83 percent of men approved the administration's action, while only 57 percent of women did. Fifty percent of the women polled thought that the raids would encourage Libya to sponsor more terrorist acts.

Public support for Libya has had surprisingly little symbolic spillover into debate over aid to Nicaraguan *contras*. A CBS-*New York Times* poll last week showed that only 25 percent of Americans approve of aid to the *contras*, while 62 percent oppose it. And congressional liberals show signs of continuing their resistance on this front. When the president reminded the House that Khadafy had "sent \$400 million and weapons and advisers into Nicaragua," House Speaker O'Neill responded, "These are two completely different matters."

Perfidious politicians

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole wants to be president. To be president, he has to win the Republican nomination in 1988. And to do that, he must be supported by Republican conservatives. Dole is doing what he can to gain that support: in December he actively lobbied the administration to aid militarily Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas in Angola; last month, he urged President Reagan to scrap the SALT II treaty. And in the wake of the Libyan bombings, he introduced an "anti-terror" bill designed to waive the War Powers Act in cases of terrorist acts.

Dole's bill is the most unconstitutional proposal since Sen. Paul Laxalt's Family Protection Act. According to *Congressional Quarterly*, Dole's bill would permit presidential retaliation without congressional consultation against "those who support terrorist acts as well as those who commit them." It would extend from 48 hours to 10 days the time in which the president must report to Congress on hostilities. And it would exempt from congressional veto anti-terrorist military actions that last more than 90 days. Under this bill, for instance, the Reagan administration could launch a six month invasion of Libya without the need for Senate authorization. Or it could invade Nicaragua, whose government it defines as "terrorist."

Dole's bill, which is opposed by Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Richard Lugar, will not pass. It probably won't even be considered in committee. But it is not reassuring that Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate and one of the most powerful politicians in America, is willing to attach his name to such nefarious nonsense. The 1988 Republican primaries are going to be something.

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IN THESE TIMES

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE APRIL 15 BOMBING RAID ON Libya fit into the long-term right-wing strategy of using the crusade against "international terrorism" to overcome "Vietnam syndrome" reluctance to take military action in the Third World. Libya was the perfect target, because Col. Muammar Khadafy's peculiar revolutionary regime supports both Palestinians and national liberation struggles (mostly in Africa) in a way that seems to correspond to the most simplistic identification of all sorts of Third World upheavals with the mad, desperate international terrorism of certain obscure Palestinian groups. The wickedness of "international terrorism" can provide an all-purpose excuse for the U.S. to intervene militarily anywhere in the world. Libya is a precedent.

In January 1981, Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that from now on "international terrorism" would be the main concern of U.S. foreign policy. His successor George Shultz has carried on the crusade zealously, publicly praising Israel as the model of how to deal with terrorism. National Security Decision Directive 138, signed by President Reagan on April 3, 1984, endorsed both preemptive military strikes and reprisal raids against "terrorists" outside the U.S.

Thus for five years the U.S. has been preparing to take military action abroad in the name of the fight against "international terrorism." Yet when it happened, European political leaders were taken by surprise. More blatantly than ever, Western Europe disagrees with U.S. policy, but is too used to following American leadership to have worked out its own policy.

The confusion of European leaders sets them up for all the American cartoonists portraying Europe as too cowardly to combat Khadafy, the king of international terrorism. In reality, what they are most afraid of is Uncle Sam. This is the fear that keeps them from voicing their inevitable doubts about the "irrefutable" evidence allegedly linking the April 5 West Berlin discotheque bombing to Libya. No evidence is "irrefutable" that has not been submitted to the possibility of refutation—in a court of law, for instance—and least of all the secret "proof" provided by the intelligence services of a government justifying its warlike acts.

The American "proof" was its interpretation of certain radio messages between Tripoli and the Libyan mission in East Berlin, differing from the interpretation by West German intelligence, which broke the Libyan code several years ago and gave it to the Americans, according to *Der Spiegel*. West German police do not rule out ordinary criminals, such as rival drug dealers, for the explosion in La Belle disco. It also seems odd that Khadafy, with his emphatic support of African revolution, would have chosen to blow up a place frequented by black GIs and Third World residents of Berlin. On the other hand, Europeans' historical memories (such as the Reichstag fire) make them more aware than Americans of the possibility of a frame-up manipulated by some intelligence agency.

Mum's the word

But allied governments don't dare say any of this. And by objecting to the bombing of Libya solely on grounds that it will stimulate more and worse terrorism they tend to confirm both the hypothetical Libyan responsibility for international terrorism and the notion that their hesitation is motivated solely by fear of terrorism.

This impression is further bolstered by the ludicrously exaggerated American image of the terrorist danger in Europe. That American tourists can be so easily terrorized by a few bombs (statistically not approaching the danger of daily violent crime in American cities) shows how small Europe is in American eyes, and how easily

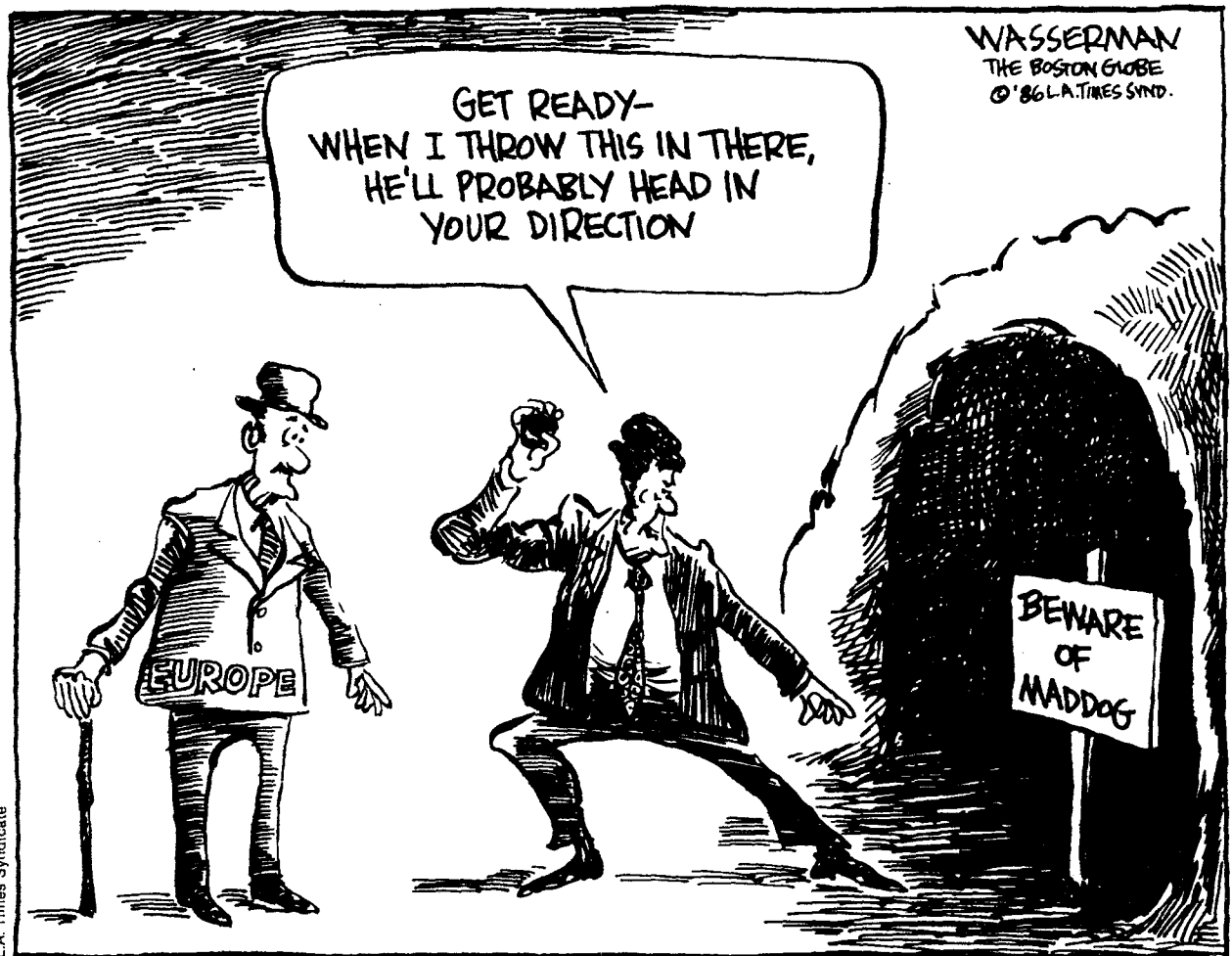
the American imagination transforms Europe into a battlefield.

This American readiness to see the rest of the world—and notably Europe—as just the place to have a war, is the deepest cause for European alarm at the bombing of Libya. This is especially worrying to Germans, who see all the U.S. bases in their country going on "terrorist alert." The paradox is that under U.S. pressure, in an effort to put a brake on U.S. military action, the Europeans are taking non-military measures against Libya that have the effect of providing justification for the military measures by presuming Libyan guilt. After most Libyans are expelled from Europe, will Libya therefore be considered innocent next time a bomb goes off? Will suspicion turn to the CIA and the Israeli Mossad, which Libyans say they fear are going to try to pin more bombings on them? Not very likely.

But European leaders so far have failed to develop any method for dealing with this complex situation, in which the Libyan leadership is surely not innocent of everything (notably the shooting of Libyan opponents of the Khadafy regime in Europe). What is needed is some method of sorting out true and false allegations. But for Europeans this would mean braving the U.S. Thus when Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti suggested taking the Libyan claim to the Gulf of Sidra before the International Court at The Hague, George Shultz retorted that Khadafy was a criminal, and that one could not talk with criminals in court. Andreotti found this reply "deeply disturbing." Meanwhile, the usual chorus of pro-American sycophants was accusing Andreotti in the media of "anti-Americanism." The mere mention of the International Court is considered an affront to Uncle Sam, since the Reagan administration refused to recognize its right to judge Nicaragua's complaint about the U.S. mining its waters.

With legal recourse ruled out, America's allies are being put under pressure to join the American crusade against "international terrorism" in terms that may be sprung on them at the Tokyo economic summit of rich nations. The Reagan administration has been concentrating its pressure on France, where despite traditional Gaullist insistence on national independence, political resistance to Reaganism is today lower than anywhere else in Europe.

In a column attacking France's "craven refusal" to let U.S. F-111 bombers fly over French territory on their way to bomb



U.S. Libyan raid is also aimed at allies

Libya, *New York Times* columnist William Safire first trotted out the perpetual dread threat of economic boycott: Americans should close their market to French goods. "Let France make that up in trade with Libya." Then Safire, like the extreme right Moon-owned *Washington Times*, disclosed that French officials from President Francois Mitterrand on down had privately said they would have supported an action strong enough to topple Khadafy but would not go along with a mere "pin-prick."

Safire, who like the *Washington Times* is apparently taken seriously by Reagan, concluded with this advice to the White House: "Their excuse is phony, but here is the irony: America did pull its punch. Our bombs were limited to 'terrorist-related' targets, not to the oil docks that would cripple Col. Khadafy's ability to pay weapons bills and speed his overthrow." Reagan "now awaits the next terrorist provocation for a serious blow. At that point, America should call the bluff of its ally. Permission to overfly is not enough: in their subtle finessing of this round, France's leaders have tacitly promised active military cooperation."

This illustrates how the extreme right, as extreme as the World Anti-Communist League, can influence a president like Reagan by way of leaks from the intelligence community and the right-wing media. A key figure in all this is Gen. Vernon Walters, whose intelligence career spans most of the U.S. skullduggery worldwide in recent decades, who was sent by Reagan to sound out European capitals before the bombing of Libya and who spilled the "pin-prick" remark. Despite the fact that as military attaché at the U.S. embassy in Paris in the early '70s, Gen. Walters virtually ran French intelligence, he seems to have a chip on his shoulder and fancies that Europeans have "a complex that Americans are ignorant, they are naive, they are stupid." He and Safire will show them who is smart. *Le Monde* commented that the Walters revelations "subtly and brutally put Paris up against the wall." The French daily noted that "the pressure on Europe will surely be very intense in Tokyo and the American effort will be aimed mainly at Paris, whose refusal to assist last week's raid let loose a veritable wave of anti-French sentiment in the U.S."

The French are all the more dismayed in that anti-Americanism has virtually evaporated in France, anti-communism is at an all-time high and disillusion with "Third Worldism" is the intellectual fashion. The rising far right led by Jean-Marie Le Pen is cheering for Reagan. Former President

Valery Giscard d'Estaing sent Reagan a message approving the bombing raid. And public opinion is more lukewarm than in the rest of Europe. Only about a thousand Trotskyists protested in Paris, compared to much larger and broader demonstrations in other European capitals. Khadafy's support to rebels in Chad and other countries in France's African sphere of influence makes France the likeliest ally in U.S. moves against Khadafy.

If the U.S. succeeds in dragging France into its war against the Third World in the name of stopping international terrorism, Europe will be deeply split. The question is how and where: at the Rhine? Inside Germany? The raid on Libya has deepened the split within the ruling conservative coalition, already divided over "Star Wars." Chancellor Helmut Kohl is wobbling in the middle between Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who wants to save détente and German trade with Eastern Europe, and the right-wing Christian Democrats around Franz Josef Strauss who prefer the imperial power game.

German diplomats reportedly see the U.S. attack on Libya as having been very deliberately staged, as one in a series of provocative acts, such as the deliberate March 13 violation of Soviet territorial Black Sea waters off the Crimea by the U.S. guided missile cruiser *Yorktown* and destroyer *Caron*, which the Pentagon announced was meant to gather military intelligence and test Soviet defenses. Rudolf Augstein, influential editor of *Der Spiegel*, said, "There is not a single intelligent politician in Europe who thinks Reagan's measures are useful" and warned: "Don't think the U.S. will consult or even inform us Europeans any more readily when something more important comes up, say like a substitute war in Europe, once some crazy SDI has been installed."

Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt called the bombing a sign of "arrogance of power" which risked jeopardizing the alliance. Social Democratic Party (SPD) leaders Willy Brandt, Johannes Rau and Hans-Jochen Vogel issued an appeal for a "worldwide coalition of level-headed and sensible people" to defend peace. Bombing would only "goad terrorism and produce solidarity in the Islamic world," they said. They recommended that Europe offer economic help and cooperation to the Middle East instead of more and more arms exports. As for NATO, it must "stand on two pillars: America and Europe," the SPD leaders said.

INSHORT

Rachel Sternberg

Nimble New Mexico

It took four days flat to collect signatures from 75 percent of faculty, students and staff at the University of New Mexico School of Law for a quarter-page anti-*contra* ad in the prominent *Albuquerque Journal*. We're told that the last time the community of New Mexico's only law school did something like this was in 1968, right after the Tet offensive. Lately, though, New Mexico has been hopping. Gov. Toney Anaya earlier in the year declared it a sanctuary state. Not everyone was pleased, but leading conservative state Sen. Les Houston knew what to do. He declared his Senate district a non-sanctuary district.

Unruly guest

A white South African priest on sabbatical at the University of Notre Dame has been fasting since April 9. Rev. Basil van Rensburg, 55, vows to persist until Notre Dame divests all its holdings connected to South Africa. The Sullivan Principles, he implies, aren't enough. Supporters of the priest's fast say one major obstacle to divestment is Notre Dame's President Rev. Theodore Hesburgh. Although he chaired the Civil Rights Commission in the 60s, they say he's badly out of step with today's movement. Campus referenda in March showed 48 percent of students and 66 percent of faculty favoring full divestment. The board of trustees next meets on May 9.

Peace mongers, various

The Africa Peace Committee has launched a 26-city "Africa Peace Tour" to educate the American public on hunger and the effects of war and militarization in Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Mozambique and many more. PRO-Peace may be bankrupt, but several hundred people have joined its successor, the Great Peace March for Nuclear Disarmament, Inc. They are now walking across the Southwest and aim to reach Washington, D.C., by November 15. And congratulations to the Syracuse Peace Council in upstate New York. It is 50 years old.

Star witness

What on earth has happened to retired Admiral Noel Gaylor? Consider his background: he ran the National Security Agency, the spookiest of spy outfits, under President Nixon; he played a key role in deciding which Soviet targets would blow up during a nuclear war, and he commanded all U.S. forces in the Pacific from 1972-76. He's certainly not the kind of guy you'd expect to be attacking President Reagan's multi-billion-dollar Star Wars scheme. Yet there was Gaylor, grey-haired and grim-faced, at an April 22 debate on Star Wars at the University of Illinois in Urbana, blasting military "contractors and academics who are licking their chops" over profits from the Star Wars pork barrel. Gaylor said a perfect defense against ICBMs is a pseudo-scientific pipe dream—"It's like we had a debate whether Congressmen should travel around on brooms. Reliable computer software for a program of this magnitude cannot be written." In private, Gaylor said with a smile that "some of my old colleagues ask my wife, 'Has Noel lost his mind?'"

Tit for tat

A coalition of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups pledged in April to raise \$100 million in charity for Nicaragua if Congress approves President Reagan's request for \$100 million in aid to the *contras*. William H. Wynn, president of United Food and Commercial Workers Union, the largest affiliate of the AFL-CIO, urged members of Congress to oppose the aid request. Meanwhile, members of the New York State United Teachers sued their union for refusing to print in its newspaper a paid advertisement rebutting the pro-*contra* position expressed by American Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker in a *New York Times* ad. The Washington-based Pledge of Resistance held anti-*contra* demonstrations in 300 cities and 50 states at mid-month. And 20 tons of Midwestern medical aid got shipped out of Chicago, headed south to Nicaragua. It was the 13th and the largest shipment to date organized under the auspices of the National Central American Health Rights Network.

Fake debate

With two weeks to go until North Carolina's May 6 Republican primary, the New Right was desperately thinking up new ways to unseat the old right. David Funderburk, choice of the ultra-conservative National Congressional Club, had been hoping to draw James T. Broyhill into a public debate. Broyhill declined, and small wonder, since he was way ahead in the polls. But it's hard to take "no" for an answer. As *In These Times* went to press, Funderburk was toying with a novel idea: to "debate" Broyhill's videotaped speeches.

Fatal 'Rambo'

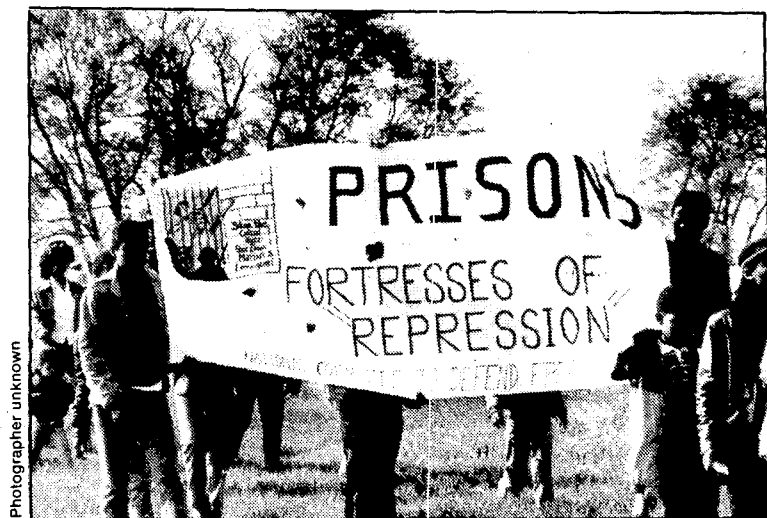
Thomas Schroeder, 15, of Green Bay, Wis., was fatally stabbed April 8 with a "Rambo" knife while playing "Rambo" with a Little League baseball coach, police said. Michael David Johnson, 24, was charged with first degree murder and held on \$200,000 bond.

Fear and loathing in Marion federal prison

What were you doing on Oct. 27, 1983? Now think of all that has happened in the two and a half years since then, and compare that to the lives of prisoners in the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Ill. There, the 50 or so prisoners in the facility's "control unit" have been locked in their cells 23 hours out of 24, while other inmates have left their cells a grand 12 hours a week, about an hour and a half each day.

The issue of the so-called "lockdown," which was brought to public attention by recent protests at Marion and its soon-to-be-opened counterpart at Lexington, Ky., has been pursued vigorously both in Congress and the courts by prison groups and the American Civil Liberties Union. So far the results have been negligible. And prison officials acknowledge that they have no plans for easing inmate restrictions soon.

"Generally, [the prison officials] take a position that they're not accountable to anybody," says Jan Susler, an attorney for the Marion Prisoner's Rights Project and an organizer of the April 19 protest. More than 200 protesters outside the two prisons called not only for improved conditions inside, but also for recognition of the rights of those they term political prisoners. These inmates, who belong to one or another political movement and were convicted of felonies supposedly aimed at promoting political change, include Black Afrikan and Puerto Rican nationalists, as well as members of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Protest organizers say these prisoners receive particularly harsh treatment in the federal



Photographer unknown

How much "freedom" do prisoners deserve?

system, a contention that is bolstered by findings in a landmark 1978 federal court case, *Bono vs. Saxbe*.

The lockdown at Marion began after two guards and an inmate were killed and two other guards seriously injured within a five-day period that followed escalating tension between inmates and prison administrators. Prison watchdog groups say that in the wake of the violence a systematic assault on prisoners began, with beatings conducted by Marion guards and by guards imported from other federal penitentiaries, including the paramilitary "A-team" from the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kan. Prison officials acknowledge that outside guards, the "A-team" included, were brought in, but deny that any systematic beatings took place. The matter is still pending in federal court.

At any rate, prison officials do support the notion that Marion is the "most maximum" prison in the federal system. It was, after all, built to replace Alcatraz. They say prisoners incarcerated there are simply

too dangerous ("disruptive," in prison lexicon) to be allowed outside their cells. Prison groups argue, however, that as many as 80 percent of the inmates do not even meet the government's own criteria for being "disruptive," and could serve their sentences elsewhere under better conditions. Noting that most prisoners in the U.S. are members of ethnic minorities, they argue further that prisons are merely dumping grounds for problems caused by economic and political repression.

The controversy surrounding Marion will continue. More than anything else, Marion points up the need for clear federal regulations regarding the treatment of prisoners. Observers say that, as the situation now exists, there are no real restrictions on the treatment of prison inmates aside from sanitary conditions and living space requirements. Officials at both Marion and the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, meanwhile, acknowledge that Marion meets only the most minimal requirements.

—M. Floyd Hall

Professor fingered for use of *In These Times*

New and terrifying notoriety lately befell *In These Times*. Accuracy in Academia (AIA), the ultra-conservative campus watchdog group, fingered a university professor for having his students read these rabid pages.

Victor Wallis, associate professor of political science at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, calls himself a socialist and encourages his students to read *In These Times*—that splendid independent socialist newspaper—in order, he says, "to acquaint [them with] a perspective on the U.S. and world politics that they can't get access to anywhere else."

Not long ago, a self-styled "free market advocate" in one of Wallis' classes objected to the use of *ITT* and asked permission to distribute copies of *Human Events*, a conservative weekly. Wallis agreed. That didn't stop the disgruntled student, however, from complaining to AIA.

The ensuing story published in the March issue of AIA's *Campus Report* asserted that some 30 new subscriptions came in to *ITT* as a result of



J. Douglas Barlow

Professor Victor Wallis.

Wallis' class. We wish. Actually, AIA Executive Director Les Csorba admits this number was extrapolated from class enrollment figures. Wallis requires no one to subscribe to *ITT*. Instead, he orders bulk shipments and makes copies of the paper available in class.

We should point out that several of Wallis' fellow professors urge their students to read and subscribe to the *Wall Street Journal*, and not a peep is heard from AIA. Csorba says, however, "It's a case of imbalance when a professor requires a periodical like *In*

These Times and doesn't balance it by also requiring a periodical like *Human Events*. That's not commitment to scholarship and objectivity."

Wallis has been basking a bit in the publicity. Still, at serious moments, he points to the ideological nature of the AIA attack. In the April newsletter of the United Faculty of Indianapolis, the American Federation of Teachers local which Wallis heads, he wrote: "AIA, like its parent organization Accuracy in Media, is characterized by a selective preoccupation with one-sidedness. Its concern is not to see that every position gets presented, but rather to see that its own preferences go unchallenged, at least as to fundamentals."

Pat McGeever, who chairs Wallis' department, says the case "completely contradicts the stated goals of Accuracy in Academia. They say their purpose is not to act as thought police but merely to clear up inaccuracies." Where are the inaccuracies in this case? As far as we know, only in *Campus Report*.

—George Fish

By Salim Muwakkil

WASHINGTON, D.C.

LEROY NEAL AND GENETRENTHAM looked decidedly out of place walking through the lobby of the Convention Center here. Their denim overalls, plaid shirts and mesh caps presented a stark contrast to the sartorial splendor on display at the founding convention of the National Rainbow Coalition, held in the center from April 17-19. But as they inched through the dense crowd in their rural duds, Neal and Trentham were greeted with the kind of deference usually reserved for the rich and famous. "Let the farmers pass," someone declared, and the crowd parted like the Red Sea.

The two men had just left a "solidarity with family farmers" breakfast meeting, where Rev. Jesse Jackson told them and about 300 others (including New Mexico's Gov. Toney Anaya, International Machinist Union chief William Winpisinger and Kenneth Blaylock, head of the American Federation of Government Employees) that the Rainbow Coalition would link the "urban eaters and the rural feeders in a new majority that has the ability to go all the way to the White House." Neal and Trentham, both white, liked what they heard.

"Jesse's the only one paying attention to the plight of the family farmer, so we're paying him a lot of attention," said Neal, a former farmer who became a farm products salesman after losing his Missouri farm a year ago. He and Trentham were two of nearly 200 farmers from Missouri, Minnesota and Wisconsin who were bussed to the Rainbow convention, courtesy of Blaylock's and Winpisinger's unions. Most of them seemed favorably disposed to Jackson's attempt to include farmers in a broad coalition designed to counterbalance the rightward drift of both the Democratic and Republican parties and lay the groundwork for a permanent political organization that would address their interests.

The presence of so many farmers was a clear indication that convention organizers were trying to avoid past mistakes by widening the Rainbow's range of concerns to include a larger variety of constituent groups. They sought the active participation of labor, farmers, peace groups, Latinos, lesbians and gay men, native Americans and energy workers (many of whom are being adversely affected by the steep drop in oil prices), in addition to input from the Rainbow's traditional base of protest-oriented blacks.

Articulating farm issues

When Jackson spoke to several thousand farmers earlier this month in Chillicothe, Mo., many of them "had never seen a black person before," explained Roger Allison, executive director of the Missouri Rural Crisis Center. "And if they had seen a black person before, they certainly hadn't seen one who could stand up and articulate our issues better than we could."

Jackson gained the farmers' interest by making speeches in farm communities throughout the country urging a moratorium on farm foreclosures, emergency federal funding for spring planting, restructuring of farm debt and affirmative action for black farmers (who will be extinct before the end of the century unless present trends are reversed). "Farmers are desperate and they're looking for help wherever they can get it," noted Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA). "And they haven't been getting it from their representatives in Congress, so they're looking elsewhere. But Jackson isn't the only one speaking to the farmers' misery," Hansen added. "A lot of right-wing hate groups are also trying to gain the allegiance of farmers. And some are finding success."

Several farmers attending the convention said Jackson made a favorable impression on their neighbors. "Since Jesse began speaking out, I've seen more cooperation between the races than I've ever seen before in my town of Wheeling, Mo.," Neal said. Ron Garnett, a second-generation family farmer, said, "I'm from Atlanta, Mo., and

POLITICS

Rainbow lightens up, broadens its base



Steve Kagan

Jesse Jackson is building bridges between farmers and the Rainbow Coalition.

the majority of white farmers I know are siding with Jesse."

The convention attracted more than 800 delegates from 42 states who came to the nation's capital to establish a permanent, state-by-state political organization embracing the spirit and concerns of Jackson's 1984 run for the Democratic presidential nomination. Despite a moment or two of chaos and some rancorous debate—the kind to be expected at a gathering of such opinionated people—the delegates accomplished what they intended.

"We know who we are and what we stand for now," said Anne Mitchell, a veteran community organizer from Philadelphia. "I've attended many, many conferences and I must say, this one was the most disciplined of them all." She attributed the disciplined atmosphere at the Rainbow convention to Jackson's leadership, but others were not so sure.

"I'm still a bit concerned about the top-down kind of leadership that Jesse periodically demonstrates," said Mark Harrison, a New York delegate, representing Clergy and Laity Concerned. Though a strong supporter of the Rainbow concept, Harrison said, "We must insure that he [Jackson] is responsive to us and not just us to him."

That kind of candor was the rule rather than the exception and marked a departure from the blind sycophancy often displayed at Jackson-inspired gatherings. And, although there was no reluctance to criticize Jackson, most delegates acknowledged his importance in the struggle against the further encroachments of the Reagan right.

"He's simply the man of the circumstance," said Larry Hamm, head of the New Jersey delegation. "Jesse just happens to be the most articulate spokesman for the most progressive agenda within the Democratic Party, and that party still commands the allegiance of the masses of people. What

other black leader, or any leader for that matter, is saying the things he says and has the kind of national visibility that Jesse has?"

Perhaps the most persistent criticism of the Rainbow was its loss of organizational focus after Jackson's 1984 candidacy. Many of those energized by his campaign and the issues it raised suddenly found themselves in a blind alley when the campaign ended. And the absence of a coherent national structure discouraged further participation. This led many to blame Jackson for using the rainbow apparatus merely as a vehicle for his personal aggrandizement. Adding to the muddle, a host of new groups began using the word "rainbow" in an attempt to shift the Coalition's momentum into their own movements. Accordingly, the convention placed a primary emphasis on the development of a functioning national organization and a chartering procedure by which to certify local Rainbow groups.

"The major purpose of this convention was to devise a plan to organize the Rainbow Coalition on a state, city and congressional district level," explained Frank Watkins, a Rainbow official and Jackson's right-hand man.

The process was completed and the group has a well-defined method of certification. "Those states wishing to form organizations to affiliate officially with the National Rainbow Coalition, Inc. (NRC), will be called 'state chapters of the NRC,'" reads the group's by-laws document. "Only one charter will be issued per state. The NRC will also organize on a congressional district (CD) level. The state chapter will affiliate with the NRC. The CD will affiliate with the state chapter."

"We must build a vehicle for the expression of our interests and power," Jackson told an overflow crowd of about 2,000 at his keynote address. "And through this vehicle we will project, support and monitor

political candidates, and increase voter registration and participation. With this vehicle we will challenge the course of Reagan's foreign and domestic policy."

The convention crowd was predominantly black, but not overwhelmingly so—as has been the case at previous Rainbow confabs. There was significant input and leadership provided by people like Barry Commoner, SANE's David Cortright, Latino activist Susanna Cepeda, Hansen of the NAFA, Jim Zogby of the Arab American Institute, Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers and Ellen David-Friedman, a Democratic National Committeewoman from Vermont who's also campaign manager for Bernard Sanders (Burlington, Vt.'s socialist mayor who's running for governor of the state on a Rainbow ticket).

Nuts and bolts

"I can't remember any convention where so much stress has been put on the minor and minute details of organizing," said A.C. Byrd, an official of the National Freeze Campaign and a D.C. Rainbow delegate. Byrd coordinated workshops on fiscal accountability, media relations, organizing electoral campaigns and voter registration and mobilization. "It's not just the leadership that's serious about this, but all of the participants seem to be determined to get something concrete out of this convention."

The stress on nuts-and-bolts organizing angered some delegates who argued the Rainbow was losing its identity as a visionary movement with its exaggerated emphasis on technical matters.

At two points during the plenary sessions, Jackson had to urge conferees to steer away from divisive arguments about policy and concentrate on the creation of a functioning entity. "That's the same argument the Democratic Party uses," said one disgruntled observer from New Jersey. "Its leaders say, 'Stop all this dissent and allow a functioning organization to take on the position in its own way.'"

But the majority clearly agreed with Jackson that focus should indeed be narrowed on developing a national structure. "If we do nothing but institutionalize the Rainbow Coalition as a permanent, identifiable political organization we will have served our purpose here well," said Lyle Butch Wing, a San Francisco delegate who is also co-chair of the National Freeze Campaign. "But if we don't do that and do everything else, we will have failed."

Wing said the primary question of the convention is whether the Rainbow can translate its vision and the appeal of Jackson into an effective political organization. "Can the Rainbow organize quickly enough to develop the strategic viewpoint to take on the Senate and House in 1986? Can we devise a Southern strategy and begin organizing the very important Southern region on a grassroots basis? The real challenges are still ahead and won't be solved this weekend," Wing noted. "We have to develop effective field operations and target specific electoral districts, because our lasting value is people organized on grassroots levels."

During a reception hosted by Anheuser-Busch (Jackson's old nemesis), a small aggregation was focusing on the complicated jazz of Thelonius Monk. The pianist, black and bearded, with a small beret affixed jauntily on his head, began exploring the minor chords and off-beat tempos of the late Monk and suddenly a farmer jumped in front of the group and began performing some kind of beer-inspired jig. The crowd smiled and continued feasting on the shrimp, chicken and Alaskan crab legs so lavishly provided by the brewery.

Perhaps such cultural incongruities are the natural result of a coalition that genuinely seeks diversity. Throughout the conference Jackson made several statements about the need for the conferees to spend time meeting people and getting to know each other. "This country has kept us all divided into our little niches and we don't even know each other yet," he said. "Let's build an organization, but let us also build some cross-cultural bridges and friendships."

By Danton Asher Berube

INDIANOLA, MISS.

INDIANOLA, MISS., IS IN THE MIDST OF its worst racial struggle since the '60s civil rights movement. Black residents have been picketing white-owned businesses and boycotting the public schools in response to the school board's selection of a white man as the new superintendent for the 97 percent black system.

On Tuesday, March 25, after a 10 month search, the white-dominated school board, by a racially split three-to-two vote, appointed W.A. Grissom to the post vacated by Superintendent D.B. Floyd, who retired last year. Grissom, who previously served as assistant superintendent for the Bolivar County District II schools, is scheduled to assume his new position July 1.

The announcement of the board's decision caused an immediate uproar. More than 700 blacks gathered that evening to coordinate a boycott of public schools and white-owned businesses. They had threatened such action if Richard Merritt, the black principal of Indianola's Carver Middle School, was not made the new superintendent. Merritt's widespread support among black residents seemed to make him the logical choice. Most white children in Indianola attend private schools.

When asked for a comment about the school board's decision, Merritt said, "I'm not in the least surprised, but I am disappointed." Last November Merritt filed suit in federal court, accusing the board of racial discrimination. He claimed that five years of school-central office experience was added to the superintendent's requirements in order to disqualify him from consideration for the post. A federal judge dismissed the suit as speculative since it was filed before Merritt was officially denied the position. On the day following Merritt's rejection 317 of the city's 3,029 students attended classes. The school board held an emergency meeting and closed the schools until the following Monday.



School and business boycotts followed a disputed appointment.

RACE RELATIONS

Appointing white to school board is no hit in Miss.

Many of the students walked with their parents in well-organized picket lines. The protests generally went smoothly, but some pickets reported that white teenagers threw rocks and water at them. One white man in a pickup truck threatened to run over pickets at a convenience store before he was calmed by police.

The threat of violence led a group of black and white ministers to issue a plea for moderation. The Indianola Chamber of Commerce made a call for peace as well.

Students returned to classes when the schools were reopened on Monday, March 31, but the boycott of white-owned businesses continued. Businessmen met with protest leaders and school board members in the hope of reaching a settlement. By the end of that week rumors that Grissom

had agreed to resign began to circulate.

Willie Spurlock, one of the protest leaders, announced on Thursday, April 3, "Hopefully, tomorrow—Tuesday at the latest—Merritt will have his contract."

Everyone expected the school board to proclaim Grissom's resignation and Merritt's appointment at its meeting Tuesday afternoon. Instead, the Grissom-Merritt issue was not even raised. The black community felt betrayed. They had sent their children back to school in good faith and expected the situation to be resolved quickly.

That evening a second school boycott was announced. Spurlock said, "As of tomorrow, the children won't be in school.... If it comes to the point where we have to set up our own classes and use our own teachers, we will do that. There is no turning back." For the remainder of that week only 15 percent of the students showed up at school. The school board agreed on Monday, April 14, to close the school system once again—this time indefinitely. Grissom continued to refuse to resign.

Walter Gregory, the black president of Indianola's school board, originally supported honoring Grissom's contract even though he voted for Merritt. However, he finally reversed his stance. "In view of the fact Dr. Grissom's actions show no concern

for educating the children of the school district, I can no longer support the decision of the board in its selection of superintendent, nor do I feel that I could support Dr. Grissom if he does assume the superintendency on July 1, 1986."

The whole town torn apart

That Monday night the Indianola Board of Aldermen unanimously called for Grissom to resign. Alderman Bill Coleman, who made the motion, said, "We're seeing the business community torn apart. We're seeing the whole town torn apart."

Nevertheless, Grissom still refused to resign and rejected offers by businessmen to buy out his contract. According to Joe Buchanan, Grissom's lawyer, "Dr. Grissom is not interested in terminating his contract. Dr. Grissom is a very strong man.... Dr. Grissom is above this." Buchanan blamed Merritt for the current situation. He said the whole issue would go away if Merritt withdrew his application for the superintendency and called for an end to the boycott.

Some progress was made Friday, April 18, when the school board announced that schools would reopen the following Monday. Blacks agreed to end the school boycott due to fears that the district might lose its state funding. But the possibility of a third boycott remains if the Grissom-Merritt issue is not resolved to the blacks' satisfaction. The boycott of white-owned businesses continues.

Ironically, 1986 was supposed to be a year of celebration for Indianola—it marks the city's 100th birthday. But black residents say they plan to boycott the centennial festivities as well. Willie Spurlock said the celebration reflects a "plantation mentality" with most events to be held "in the white community."

And few residents feel like celebrating while the superintendent issue remains unresolved. According to Rev. David Matthews, the black pastor of Bell Grove Baptist Church, "Until we get this behind us we won't have centennial feelings."

Those centennial feelings may be a long time in coming. The Grissom-Merritt conflict shows no sign of ending. The white-dominated school board refuses to fire Grissom, Grissom refuses to resign and the blacks refuse to take "no" for an answer. The words of Joyce Gardner, an Indianola fourth-grade teacher walking a picket line, seem to express the sentiments of everyone involved. "I'm prepared to do this all summer."

Danton Asher Berube is a freelance writer in Jackson, Miss.

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WRITE TO CENTER FOR POPULAR ECONOMICS ★ BOX 785 ★ AMHERST, MA 01004

By Steve Askin

GABARONE, BOTSWANA

“WHY DID THE COMMUNIST countries leave the Socialist International [SI] and is there any chance they will rejoin?” That question to SI President Willy Brandt from a local journalist here showed how little is known about the social democratic movement on this continent. For many Africans, international socialism equals Soviet bloc.

During a special meeting in Gabarone, a few miles from the South African border, SI's top leadership issued a predictably strong anti-apartheid statement, but did little to raise their African profile.

Brandt came here from South Africa and afterward returned there for a meeting with President Botha. In his speech he placed SI squarely on the side of the Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia and the African National Congress (ANC) and United Democratic Front in South Africa. He implicitly defended armed opposition to apartheid by declaring “the source of violence is not those who resist but those who have based their rule on injustice and oppression.”

In a closing statement on behalf of SI, Brandt reaffirmed support for tough sanctions against South Africa. SI rejected U.S. and South African insistence that independence for Namibia, a territory occupied by South Africa in violation of international law, be linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. It condemned South Africa's campaign to “weaken and bleed” neighboring black-ruled nations through military attacks and economic destabilization. It urged broad but selective sanctions against South Africa, including:

- An end to investment in, and government credits for, South Africa.
- Embargoes on oil, weapons and high technology.
- Import bans on South African farm products, uranium, coal and Krugerrands.

SI also pledged greater support for the efforts of nine black-ruled states to reduce their economic dependency on South Africa through the Southern African Development Coordination Conference.

South Africa's economic tentacles are much in evidence in this arid, diamond-

AFRICA

Small party plans and big talk in Botswana



rich, landlocked nation that depends on South Africa for trade routes, investment capital, many manufactured items and much of its food. SI met, ironically, at a South African-owned hotel. Delegates and the press drank South African wine at a statehouse luncheon hosted by Botswana's President Quett Masire.

Botswana has been under intense pressure since last June 14 when the South African Defense Force invaded this normally tranquil capital city of 80,000 people (see accompanying article).

habwe. “We use guns for hunting animals, not hunting people,” said Archbishop Makulu. “We’ve never seen a mass funeral in our lives, before June 14.”

Botswana enjoyed a tranquility rare anywhere in the world. It was a country where the president might stroll over to the university campus, a hotbed of political opposition, to take in a public lecture on economic policy.

Botswana's 1.1 million people and their 3,000-man army threatens no one militarily, certainly not South Africa with its 100,000 soldiers. But Botswana's combination of nonracial democracy and capitalist economy undermines all of white South Africa's propaganda about the “dangers” of black rule. “We have, in spite of South Africa, developed a system of good government based on the consent of the people,” Botswana's soft-spoken President Quett Masire said after the June 14 raid. “We pray that someday South Africa will copy our way and practice it. It will be a good day for South Africa, as good as it is for us.”

The experience of neighboring countries gives Botswana ample reason to feel threatened. In January, an economic blockade of Lesotho provoked a military coup. Lesotho is especially vulnerable because it is an independent country completely surrounded by South Africa, but Botswana's total dependence on shipping through South Africa to reach the outside world makes it almost as vulnerable. South Africa supports anti-government guerrillas in Mozambique and is waging full-scale war, with U.S. support, against Angola.

-S.A.

In one small sense, SI itself became a victim of the South African destabilization. Because of the de facto ban on liberation movement activity here enforced with South African threats of new attacks, SI could not invite ANC and SWAPO representatives—who frequently attend SI meetings as observers—to this gathering.

Their absence may be one reason why the new statements were a bit milder than the position hammered out at SI's first Southern Africa meeting, a September 1984 consultation with leaders of the liberation movements and the front-line states in Arusha, Tanzania. At Arusha, SI coupled a call for selective sanctions with endorsement of the formula preferred by liberation movements and the front-line states: “comprehensive and binding international sanctions.”

A tougher stand might also be impractical for an SI member like the Labour Party in Britain, a country extremely dependent on its South African economic relations. Brandt dislikes empty rhetoric and prefers policies that “he can sell to [Labour Party leader] Neil Kinnock” or other socialists contending for power, said Democratic Socialist delegate co-chair Michael Harrington, the only U.S. participant. (The Social Democrats USA, generally viewed as the most right-wing SI-affiliated party, were

not represented.)

Though there were no major disputes among delegates, clear-cut differences in emphasis did emerge.

In general, Nordic parties went further against South African apartheid and U.S. constructive engagement. Danish Social Democratic Chairman Anker Jorgensen urged binding international sanctions and full support for the ANC. He predicted that the Danish parliament will enact his opposition party's plan for a total ban on trade with South Africa, something so far done by no Western nation.

SI's main African dilemma involves political relationships, not formal policy. The concern for Third-World needs displayed by such European socialists as Brandt or the late Olof Palme of Sweden made those individuals enormously popular in Africa.

SI's organizational advances in the Third World over the last decade are largely confined to Latin America and the Caribbean. Inside Africa, there exist only two politically active parties: Senegal's ruling Socialists and the labor opposition in Mauritius. A third African affiliate, SI officials note with chagrin, is a Paris-based exile group dedicated to overthrowing one of this continent's most popular and charismatic left-wing leaders, Captain Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta). Bashing Sankara is hardly a formula for building support on the African left.

SI's unbending rejection of one-party states is an obstacle to growth on a continent where multi-party systems are rare. Even Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, with his close links to Scandinavian social democracy and his non-Leninist “African socialist” ideals, was politically outside the SI pale. Harrington said the SI is trying to review its approach to one-party states, but that is a slow and uncertain process.

Here in southern Africa, five of the six front-line states embrace socialism in one or another guise, yet none has a political party that would be likely to qualify for membership, if they cared to apply. Capitalist Botswana is a multi-party state where SI can, perhaps, feel more comfortable. But a spokesman for the socialist-leaning opposition, the Botswana National Front, said his party has no interest in SI membership.

Social democracy has other image problems on this continent as well. Some socialist parties are tarnished in African eyes by their relationships with former colonies.

Even on apartheid, African critics contend that the record of Western socialists in power is mixed. The Scandinavians excepted, they tended—at least until recently—to equivocate on support for liberation movements and on economic relations with South Africa. Unless this behavior dramatically changes, as may be happening now, democratic socialism is not likely to solve its African problem.

Steve Askin is the African correspondent for Pacific News Service and the National Catholic Reporter.

Living in South Africa's shadow

In this charming and normally tranquil city, the words “state terrorism” refer to Botswana's powerful neighbor, South Africa.

Gabarone's “frightened people” suffered their “great trauma” at 2:00 a.m. last June 14, says Anglican Archbishop Walter Makulu. That was when South African Defense forces (SADF) crossed the nearby border, blew up 10 houses and murdered a dozen sleeping, unarmed individuals. The SADF falsely dubbed the victims “ANC [African National Congress] terrorists.” The dead actually included exiled musicians, a pacifist South African draft evader, a six-year-old local boy and two Botswana maids whose only crime was living in a servants' quarters once occupied by exiled South Africans. South Africa's real goal was to “browbeat this society into submission” and create a *cordeon sanitaire* of vanquished neighbors who will be pliable,” Makulu said.

This year, South Africa used the threat of another raid to strong-arm Botswana into closing the ANC office here and warning several dozen South African refugees to leave “for your own safety.” These were painful steps for Botswana leaders who wanted to uphold the country's tradition of openness to all refugees, said the U.N. High Commission for Refugees representative here.

Violence easily shakes Botswana, a former British protectorate, which eased into independence in 1966 with no armed struggle and little political conflict. Botswana's army was not formed until a decade ago, when the country suffered from raids by another neighboring apartheid state, Rhodesia, before it became black-led Zim-

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Wisconsin's economic future...

Nobody's business

This article continues the series on the economy and politics of southern Wisconsin and is another part of continuing coverage of the "rust belt"—the troubled industrial heartland of the U.S. This series is supported by a grant from the Aidlin Foundation.

By David Moberg

MILWAUKEE, WI

SHORTLY AFTER LIBERAL DEMOCRAT Anthony Earl won the governor's seat four years ago, he traveled to Neenah, Wis., to meet Darwin E. Smith, the head of Kimberly-Clark, the state's largest business. Smith had threatened to move his corporate headquarters out of state to protest taxes and the state's supposedly hostile business climate. In the eyes of some disillusioned Earl supporters, that meeting was the beginning of the governor's transformation into a "Republican" and the arrival of a single Business Climate Party with two wings, Democrat and Republican.

Hard times in Wisconsin in the early '80s, as in many other states of the "rust belt," have given new political weight to arguments about the business climate.

"The whole question of the economic future of Wisconsin is the only question that counts to the voters right now and will determine who governs Wisconsin," Democratic state Rep. Jeffrey Neubauer of Racine argues. "Whoever creates a growing economy will be left in charge and will have great freedom to do whatever else they want."

At the state level, an embattled Demo-

cratic minority still defends strong government regulation of business, environmental protection, redistributive tax measures and aid to the poor, among other traditional positions of the state's once-strong liberal and Progressive traditions. But a vocal pro-business, anti-welfare wing of the Democrats has gained substantially while others try to carve out some middle ground. At the same time, populist movements critical of business have grown among farmers, environmentalists and the unemployed. Also, unions now want more political influence. That "progressive" wing of the party has found its champion in Ed Garvey, former representative of the professional football players and candidate for the U.S. Senate nomination.

After Earl's appointment at Neenah, the governor pushed through a tax reform bill that cut personal income tax rates. He appointed a Strategic Development Commission and called a special session of the legislature on economic development that passed several pro-business bills. He committed state funds, including pensions, to local economic development. He set up a private-public promotion group, Forward Wisconsin, as well as overseas trade promotion offices.

The demand by electrical utilities to form holding companies to invest in other businesses provoked a watershed debate. Since early in this century, Wisconsin's regulation of utilities has been a model for the country, resulting in financially sound companies and comparatively low rates. But the cash-rich utilities wanted to form holding companies that could siphon off earnings and invest them in other projects without strict public supervision. Critics argued

that the utilities should boost the economy by lowering rates. They claimed that the bill, even in its more restrictive version, would not guarantee jobs in Wisconsin and could raise rates as utilities secretly subsidized their holding company ventures or got embroiled in risky, losing operations. But conservative Democratic sponsors, like Rep. Barbara Ulichny (Milwaukee) and Sen. Joseph Andrea (Kenosha), and the utilities argued that the holding companies would create jobs. Labor was split: some unions in areas of southeastern Wisconsin with high unemployment backed the bill despite much labor opposition. Eventually a modified version passed the Democratic-controlled legislature.

In the early '70s Democrats took the first steps on the slippery slope of catering to business by passing a bill exempting machinery and equipment from the sales tax in response to the perpetual business attacks on taxation. Last year the governor's Strategic Development Commission reported that no studies "have shown any conclusive evidence that the M&E-exemption created economic growth." Nevertheless, since then the business tax burden has been reduced to nearly the nation's lowest, but without significant benefit.

Climate is subjective

The Strategic Development Commission concluded, in line with most academic studies, that state and local taxes have little effect on business location decisions. But many business executives continue to complain. The Commission argued that smoothing business feathers was essential: "If business leaders 'perceive' that a legislative change is pro-business, it becomes a suc-

cessful tool for economic growth. Perhaps perception is more important than reality." It is a sign of the pathetic state of political debate that business "perceptions," divorced from reality, still dictate policy.

Although University of Wisconsin business professor Jon Udell reported that business executives already "perceive" the state to have an above-average business climate, the Milwaukee Association of Commerce and Industry recently issued a plan for job growth that was classic cut-taxes, cut-spending, anti-government business rhetoric.

By that standard, the business-dominated Strategic Development Commission was unusual in de-emphasizing taxes in favor of raising the quality of life and improving education to strengthen the business climate. Yet it still called for cutbacks in state spending. And although it argued for using the University of Wisconsin to stimulate new business and technology development, it favored increasing tuition and serving fewer students.

When the crash of the '80s hit, business went through a "catharsis," argues Robert H. Milbourne, a former Kohler Company vice president who was executive director of the Commission. "The rough time of the early '80s really scared Wisconsin business leaders. First, there was an attitude they had to go into a cocoon and tend to business needs. Then there was the realization that it was a city, state and national problem, and they reached out. There's a more enlightened self-interest today than five years ago. Business leaders also recognize there were mistakes made by management."

But "a lot of big companies—and little ones—are always looking for a scapegoat," one executive says. "So they say, 'Look at the state of Wisconsin.' The truth of the matter is a lot of companies in Milwaukee are profitable and growing, and they don't worry about the state." Why does the business climate grouching persist? "Well, who else do you dump on?" banker Kevin O'Connor asks whimsically.

The more enlightened business and government approach, such as that of the Commission, emphasizes retaining existing businesses and stimulating more home-grown entrepreneurial activity rather than smokestack-chasing (trying to lure businesses already established elsewhere to their state). Many rust belt states are now developing their own versions of an industrial policy, the Democratic watchword briefly at the federal level two years ago. Wisconsin's loose plan targets some industries—such as plastics, printing, food processing, computer peripherals and wood products—rather than pursuing high-tech helter-skelter.

Whether enlightened or old-fashioned, anti-government business views have dominated the economic debate. Some labor leaders served on the Strategic Development Commission and a few community and church groups have tried to contribute their perspective (see accompanying article), but there is no clear left alternative. "The biggest problem is the dearth of ideas," says Louis Fortis, director of the Wisconsin Community Development Finance Authority. "You've got good progressive legislators but not a good progressive agenda."

The left response to the economic collapse has been largely defensive or else aimed at regulating business. Unions have fought plant closings, occasionally with some success. In Racine, for example, a labor-community campaign effectively blocked use of an Urban Development Action Grant to shift the last remaining fragment of Massey-Ferguson, a farm implement company, to Des Moines, Iowa. Unions and the left have backed an Economic Democracy Act that would

Preaching pulpit economics to a hungry flock

Church food pantries in the Milwaukee area distribute about 10,000 free meals each week to the needy. But church leaders also speak out in favor of restrictions on plant closings and greater public direction to capital investment. Increasingly churches in the heart of the "rust belt" are moving beyond traditional charity, demanding a voice in economic decisionmaking. One controversial example is the U.S. Bishops' pastoral letter on the economy, prepared by a committee chaired by Milwaukee's Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland, the child of a poor Pennsylvania family.

"Nobody has a problem with religious groups being involved in free meals and food pantries," former Roman Catholic priest Jack Murtagh says. "But one of the reasons Weakland's letter is attacked is that the church entered the dialog on economic issues. The critics don't want another institution saying it's not just technical and economic issues of the market at stake but value questions."

When the value questions are raised in churches these days, increasingly corporations are faulted for being irresponsible toward their workers and communities. The rust-belt religious revival of economic issues started with the Ecumenical Coalition in Youngstown, Ohio, which led a campaign for worker-community ownership of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube mill closed in 1977. That in turn inspired other efforts, such as the Great Lakes/Appalachian Project on the Economic Crisis and the much different, highly controversial Denominational Ministry Strategy in Pittsburgh, whose members engaged in Alinsky-style confrontations with steel and banking executives to dramatize "corporate evil" draining the community.

Many rust-belt communities are also surrounded by rural areas suffering

through a farm crisis, and churches there have frequently become fervent defenders of family farms and conservation. The twin problems—farm and industrial—have encouraged many church staff, ministers and some lay leaders to speak out more aggressively. But the spark has not spread to most congregations. "It isn't a groundswell by any means," says Tom Marchione, director of the Great Lakes Project. Eventually, however, the effects may be more widely felt.

Work with the hungry and unemployed led some religious people to rethink economic development "in terms of meeting basic religious needs," Marchione says. Most recent religious statements on the economy argue, first, that there must be more "intentionality" and planning, not by an elite, but through broad citizen participation, he says. Second, the issue is not simply money but worker and community involvement in business decision-making and ownership as well as participation on the shop floor.

In Milwaukee there is a long tradition of church involvement in welfare, low-income housing and desegregation of the schools that is best symbolized by the late Rev. James Groppi, a vigorous civil rights advocate. About four years ago a religion-and-labor committee emerged after union concerns over a church hospital's opposition to union organizing. The group expanded its focus as the economic crisis hit. "The unemployed were looking for some voice," said Murtagh, the group's director. "We thought the religious community could be an institutional voice."

"Our community is divided between consumers and survivors," Murtagh says, echoing Weakland's denunciation of the "economic apartheid" that he sees emerging in the industrial heartland. "The con-

sumers are doing all right. Our job is to see that the political agenda includes and pays attention to the survivors, and to say you can't continue to lower the standard of living in the name of economic growth. The business community has no problem paying high wages for skilled workers. What bugs them is paying for what they consider unskilled labor. The question for them is, 'What do John and Mary need to live on?' They don't want to answer that."

Local economic depression has challenged churches and theologies. Thomas Kalshoven, executive director of an ecumenical coalition in Rock Island, Ill., says that many churches are accustomed to "standing with the corporate powers," partly because of their own hierarchy, and the unemployed often feel excluded. "If we don't understand community as including the unemployed as well as the banker," he argues, "we have pretty poor theology." On a theological note, he says, "Work is essential to self-understanding, and one must not take away tools of one's work for artificial profit. Christians have a responsibility to work for an economically just society and not just a charitable society."

It is fashionable to subsume all morality, law, politics and economic decisions to the dictates of the market these days. The entry of the churches into the economic debate at least provides another standard for judging how well our institutions are working. In some cases, they may even provide troops for the battlefield. "The radicals are not now found in labor or the old left but in the churches," argues former socialist mayor of Milwaukee Frank Zeidler, a Lutheran leader in the church and labor group. "That's my experience here."

-D.M.

strengthen the ineffectual plant closing legislation already on the books and legalize the use of eminent domain by local governments to acquire properties and manufacturing assets of shutdown businesses. This would fit nicely with the new Community Development Finance Authority, which is trying to help workers or communities buy viable threatened businesses.

For several years the Wisconsin Action Coalition (WAC) has successfully organized the unemployed, at first winning discounts at 800 stores—mainly mom-and-pop operations—and on the bus lines for its members, who at one time numbered 12,000. Gradually the group became more of a union of the unemployed and more political. It required members to register to vote, then worked to get out its members. Jeff Eagan, WAC director, says the group is pressing for implementation of a state health care plan for the uninsured and mortgage foreclosure relief.

Congress for a Working America also co-sponsors Job Search Clubs with churches in depressed areas. Taking cues from Latin American liberation theology and "pedagogy of the oppressed," the groups teach people about the roots of their problems and, more practically, how to look for jobs, write resumes and deal with demoralization.

The Congress also helped launch the Milwaukee Association for Worker Cooperatives, which gives technical and financial help to producer co-ops, such as a cab company, a business that recycles used architectural elements, a maker of playground equipment and a print shop.

But defense of victims, attacks on corporate irresponsibility and small-scale co-ops do not add up to a total economic program. What will stimulate the economy, create new jobs and reverse the decline? Wisconsin's use of public investment funds, such as pensions, is barely underway, but that has possibilities. The Community Development Finance Corporation is small and aimed mainly at low-income groups, worker buy-outs and community-based businesses. But it might be difficult immediately to use more than the \$7.7 million raised from private sources. "The problem is there's not a lot of capacity at the community level to take advantage of it," director Lou Fortis says. "Business development is a lot more complicated. You need a good entrepreneur." Fortis says he would like to recruit retired business people as VISTA-style volunteers to teach new entrepreneurs.

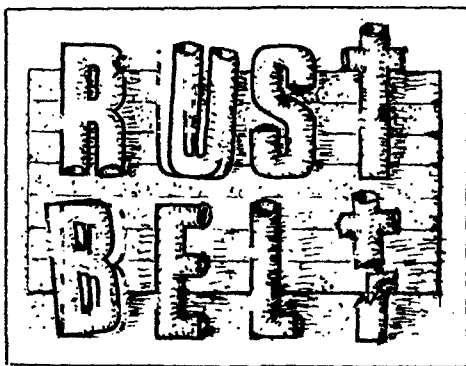
Originally used to lure business from the industrial North, industrial revenue bonds (IRBs) are now employed everywhere. But some on the left, such as sociologist Gregory Squires and the Congress for a Working America, attack IRBs as inefficient hand-outs that rarely yield promised jobs. They drain the federal budget, raise municipal interest rates and encourage equipment purchase more than direct employment, Squires argues. WAC and the Congress would like to monitor their use more closely. But some on the left, like state Sen. John Norquist, want to get rid of them altogether. Fortis argues that the limits of IRBs are a federal problem, and that until the issue is dealt with there, states and cities should "use them as much, abuse them as much as you can" to spur local development.

Norquist, who represents low- to moderate-income neighborhoods of Milwaukee and is a likely mayoral candidate next year, is often called a populist. On foreign policy issues, the environment and many social issues, he fits a standard left mold. But Norquist opposes most state government intervention in the economy as a giveaway to the politically connected. He talks about empowering the poor but shrinking state government and cutting taxes.

"If you get into the question of the state running the economy," he asks, "who runs the state? The orientation of politics today is not to help the poor. For people on the left to be for higher taxes is not going to help." The left should rely more on markets and decentralize government, he says. "Let the economy flow the way it's going to



Exploring the politics of employment in southeastern Wisconsin.



flow," Norquist argues. "Government shouldn't get into the business of who should make money and who shouldn't," although he favors job training, good education, environmental protection and enough regulation to prohibit fraud. Ultimately, he says, "I don't think there's a big, important role for the state in developing the economy. At the national level they can affect the currency or have better relations with countries so we can trade with them."

Neubauer says Norquist's view is that "we shouldn't get along with the banks, utilities, corporate leaders. We ought to fight them. Our job is to defend the working class against these bloodsuckers," although the open market rarely defends workers. On the other side there are people like Ulichny and Andrea, sponsors of the utility holding company bill, who ask what business wants and give it to them. Between

the two alternatives of "give it to 'em" and "screw 'em," Neubauer argues that Democrats must try to bring business leaders and traditional blue-collar Democratic constituencies together to negotiate mutually acceptable programs. He argues that Earl's personal income tax plan was a good compromise that cut top rates but closed loopholes and took some of the poor off the tax rolls. But neither business nor workers ended up happy with the plan, which contributes to Earl's expected re-election difficulties.

Like many other liberals in state politics, he feels he cannot indulge in the left criticisms of business that Ed Garvey makes, much as he sympathizes with Garvey's views. "The trouble in state government is you are in competition with other states, and competition exists because the federal government doesn't set adequate minimum employment standards, allows severance taxes, doesn't have a humane minimum AFDC. So we are forced in times of economic distress to compete. Capital is not what it was 50 years ago with a family in a community. Capital now is hypermobile. They don't care about Beloit, Bettendorf or Biloxi. Garvey's message is we've had enough and we've got to change the rules. Until he's majority leader, I've got to keep my constituents employed, which dictates whether I keep myself employed. The only way is to work with the private sector but not alienate my constituency."

Former local union president Joseph Andrea represents the Democratic "give it to 'em" approach to business and the "screw 'em" approach to the poor. "I don't think it's a mortal sin to be pro-business," he says. "They have money and talent. They can create jobs. The major challenge for Democrats is to reflect the thinking of middle America—tougher crime bills, tighter rein on social programs, more pro-business and pro-industry positions—cutting property and income taxes but continuing the

IN THESE TIMES APRIL 30-MAY 6, 1986 9
basic program of Democrats for the poor and elderly."

Andrea has made the headlines by insisting that Wisconsin, especially his district of Kenosha on the Illinois border, has become a welfare haven for out-of-staters (read blacks from Chicago). State Assembly majority leader Dismas Becker fought the punitive workfare plan spawned by Andrea's criticism. Although Wisconsin pays AFDC stipends well above average, total welfare spending is near the average. Studies show that Wisconsin is average for in-migration, and more people go to Illinois than vice-versa, Becker says. A workfare plan went through, but Becker and others modified it significantly: a limited pilot plan will emphasize training and use of AFDC payments to supplement paychecks or help start a business.

The politicians' shift to business has echoes among the voters. Racine county executive Len Ziolkowski argues that the wave of plant closings and economic hardship has not led to massive criticism of business. "We just don't hear that," he says. "It's 'What are you doing to help business?' or 'What are you nasty people doing driving them out?'" Ziolkowski has also taken heat for questioning the justification or constitutionality of strict residency requirements for welfare recipients. "My priest likes my position," he quipped. "I'm on the side of the angels, but the angels don't vote."

Economic Development

Without a plan for economic growth, many of the left's protests against abuse of corporate power and their defenses of the economy's victims are undermined by the fear of capital flight, sensitivity to competition among the states, and the diffuse charge of hurting the business climate. Frank Zeidler, former socialist mayor of Milwaukee, advocates increased public enterprise to stimulate the economy. Others argue for various forms of state investment and assistance (for everything from co-ops to conventional private businesses). But those efforts run up against criticisms of political favoritism, charges that public funds are used inefficiently and suggestions that the limited entrepreneurial skills of non-traditional firms hamper their development. In the end, stimulation of small business is increasingly touted by both left and right as the salvation, but there is still pressure—as in the current debate over state aid to replace the aging American Motors plant in Kenosha—to save large-scale employers.

Despite the strong anti-tax sentiment, public expenditures for well-run enterprises that create jobs and useful products or services could have far greater appeal than many traditional social services. These public enterprises could provide a second motor, in addition to private investment, to drive the economy. Also, the left can argue persuasively that the business climate is best strengthened by improving public services and the quality of life, not a downward spiral of competition to cheapen wages and government. "The name of the game in the future is education," argues Robert Ady, vice president of Fantus, the premier industrial location firm. "If you asked me all the location factors—wage rates, hours of sunshine—and I named one factor that is key to economic growth, it's education, not only college but at all levels."

Within a context of public creation of useful jobs—competing with the private sector as well as in the traditional government service area, carefully controlled investment in private business and the creation of a strong, positive climate for business—it is possible that regulation of corporate abuse will be more politically acceptable, even at the state level. But there are limits to the potential for states to act on severe economic problems that plague much of the rust belt, and as a result there are limits to the state and local politics in the rust belt. That is one reason why beleaguered liberals and progressives are excited about the campaign of Ed Garvey for U.S. Senate, where the same constraints do not hold.

Next week: a profile of Ed Garvey.

EDITORIAL

LaRouchies have rights, too

The acid test of a democratic system occurs when things don't go as a country's rulers expect them to. In a democracy, operating under the rule of law, everybody has the right to run for public office, and, if they are elected, to serve. In the parliamentary systems of Europe, this right is manifested in a multiplicity of political parties, each of which, more or less, represents a distinct political ideology. In the United States we have an institutionalized two-party system that makes it virtually impossible for third parties to have more than token candidacies. Instead, the two major parties are themselves essentially non-ideological—or at least without official ideology. And the parties are quasi-official parts of the state apparatus. Membership is legally defined as open to anyone who registers as a member of a legally-recognized party (one with automatic ballot status). Methods of choosing candidates are mandated by law, not by a party's central committee. Thus, if you register as a Democrat, and if you attain a legally-defined number of signatures on a nominating petition, you may run for office. There is no committee that must pass on your qualifications or your political ideology.

In mid-March in Illinois, this process was sorely tested when two followers of

loonie Lyndon LaRouche were nominated for statewide office as Democrats. Virtually unknown, they were the beneficiaries of an overwhelming popular rejection of the candidates chosen by the Democratic Party regulars for lieutenant governor and secretary of state. The victory of LaRouchie Mark Fairchild as nominee for lieutenant governor over gubernatorial candidate Adlai Stevenson III's hand-picked man (an anti-choice down-state legislator) was particularly disastrous for Stevenson and the party regulars, because the candidate for lieutenant governor is elected separately but runs jointly with the candidate for governor. A vote for governor in the general election is thus an automatic vote for lieutenant governor.

Stevenson immediately declared that he would not run on the same ticket with Fairchild or his cohort, Janice Hart, because they were neo-Nazis. At first he talked about finding a way to have them removed from the ballot, but then declared he will run as an independent and will ask to have his name removed from the Democratic Party line.

But while Stevenson has now accepted the decision of the Democratic voters of Illinois, not so the State Democratic Central Committee. On April 18, this body of worthies unanimously approved a reso-

lution that declared the Democratic nominations for lieutenant governor and secretary of state vacant. Their reason was that the candidates who won the election were "hostile to the interests of the Democratic Party." They will ask the State Board of Elections to remove Fairchild and Janice Hart (the secretary of state nominee) from the party ballot and to provide a separate listing, a procedure for which the State Board's general counsel knows of no precedent—and which probably will not be granted.

The State Board's attempt violates dem-

You cannot change the rules just because you lose the game.

ocratic principles and the rule of law, both of which are supposed to characterize our American democracy. It is an indication of contempt for the people of the state of Illinois and an unseemly refusal to accept the consequences of their own disregard for the opinions of their party's voters. As a simple matter of fair play, you cannot

change the rules just because you lose the game. Beyond that, in a system in which candidates who want to win must run in one or the other of the two major parties, those parties must be kept open to the widest range of political views and programs or else our democracy becomes a sham. Even within the established rules, party leaders have a grossly disproportionate amount of power in determining who will run for office and who is outside the pale. To throw out the established rules when this system goes awry belies their commitment to democratic government.

The Illinois State Board's action seems to be an extreme case but, unfortunately, they are not alone in their actions. Concerned that too many unreliaables may win nominations under the existing primary system, New York's senior Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan suggested in the wake of the LaRouchies' victory that we ought to go back to nominating candidates through party conventions. In other words, tighten up before popular discontent with the party's performance leads to undesirables taking over.

Our view is the opposite. We would like to see access to party nomination through primaries opened up, so that individuals and groups could participate more freely and with fewer built-in handicaps. The solution is not to make it impossible for zombies like the LaRouchies to run for office, but to encourage a wider variety of candidacies and genuine debate over the major issues facing our society in the electoral arena. ■

Racist blacks

SALIM MUWAKKIL'S ARGUMENT (ITT, April 16) that "the unjust and squalid living conditions that afflict the 1.9 million Palestinians who live in refugee camps produce more 'terrorists' than a hundred Khadafys," mars any suggestion that black Americans are categorically in the same boat as those who suffer Third-World poverty. Black Americans do not suffer Third-World famine. Nor do black Americans manifest the degree of mercenary terrorism that Palestinians have loosed on earth. It is an anthill compared to a mountain.

The greatest black people, perhaps, in history have grown out of American culture, good or evil. The very fact that Khadafy's government would finance the efforts of Louis Farrakhan exposes his disloyalty to black Americans. I have seen no evidence that changes the fact of Malcolm X's execution by black racists growing out of the Farrakhan sect. I would no more approve of the Farrakhan sect than I would approve of Frank Collins of the Nazi Party. Malcolm X's only sin was his claim that white people could be Muslims too. His execution proves the extreme racism of those who murdered him.

If Palestinian terrorism is vindicated on the moral grounds of poverty, and American poverty is identical to this poverty, then why has the Black Muslim movement adopted the Anglo Saxon method of making money instead? "Black" socialism is another absurdity. Theoretically, socialism

liberates the human race from racism. The very fact that Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) identifies with the "All African Peoples Revolutionary Socialist Party" exposes his refusal to see a racist-free socialism.

Aaron M. Farris
Fairborn, Ohio

Self-destruction

THE NORMALLY ASTUTE SALIM MUWAKIL has, in the guise of a defense of Muammar Khadafy (ITT, April 16), presented a powerful argument why the Libyan colonel deserves scant sympathy from the American left. A leader who urges "black Americans to desert the U.S. armed forces, form a separate army supplied by Libya and join him in a struggle against American imperialism," is living out a romantic fantasy that can only end in self-destruction. As for American acolytes like Louis Farrakhan, who broadcasts this sage advice to his American followers, it confirms everything Muwakkil and others have said about the NOI leader's genius for practical political wisdom. Haven't we learned enough from the macho politics of the late '60s to know that "bad niggers" end up dead, in jail or as small-time tyrants over their own people. Khadafy is about as good a model

of anti-imperialism as Sirhan Sirhan or Jesse James.

Mark Naison
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Another Pol Pot?

PERPETUALLY DISORGANIZED LEFTISTS would seem blinded by mere rhetoric and false assumptions and maybe would reveal a bit of jealousy were they to criticize Lyndon LaRouche and his successes too harshly.

LaRouche does little that respected others in politics, press and pulpit do not also do with impunity. It would be abominable hypocrisy for others to say, just as President Reagan tells the world, "Be good like us—or else!"

Moreover, unlike rigidly orthodox or exclusively "true" Marxist-Leninists who pursue an elusive unicorn, LaRouche has actually gained a degree of wealth and power in a hostile society where anything even vaguely "socialistic" is anathema.

He once said in *New Solidarity*, in effect: "We understand the mind and character of the American worker. Boy, do we understand!" He might well have seen the same "streak of latent fascism in the hearts of Americans" that U.S. Sen. Hugh Scott (R-PA) also saw. Therefore, in his pursuit

of political power and popular acceptance, and in order to capitalize on the powerful human passions that prevail, an intelligent analysis of existing conditions would appear to have turned LaRouche to the ultra right. He obviously knows what he is doing.

He will never succeed in becoming another Pol Pot and we therefore may enjoy his progress.

Roy Kuwahara
Willingboro, N.J.

Corrections

In the editorial in last week's issue (April 23), "Administration quick-step," Tripoli was transformed into Tunis inadvertently.

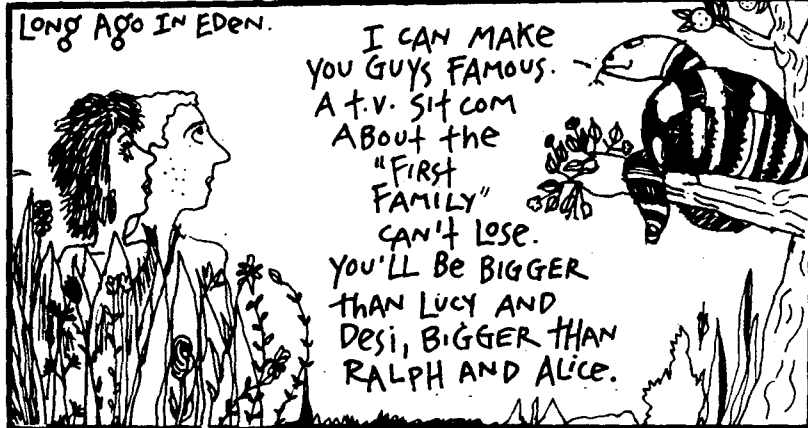
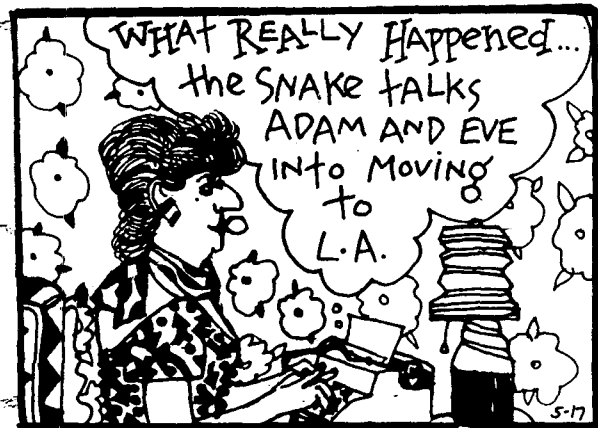
A typographical error in David Moberg's story on the steel industry in the April 23 issue suggested that a "nationalized" steel industry might soon emerge. It should have read "rationalized." Also, these two sentences referring to LTV Steel should instead refer to National steel: "Workers will get profit-sharing bonuses and restrictions on subcontracting work. Mandatory labor-management committees will be established at department, plant and corporate levels."

An "In Short" article April 2 ("Minnesotans defend their watery back yard") misstated the U.S. Department of Energy timetable for choosing a second national permanent nuclear waste repository. A final Area Recommendation Report, which would list sites still under consideration, is expected late this year, with field studies to follow.

An "In Short" article April 16 ("U.S. nuclear test is stalled but not stopped") incorrectly stated that four Greenpeaceers were inside the Nevada Test Site at the time of the blast. A Greenpeace team had been dispatched on dirt bikes, but was unable to gain access to the site.

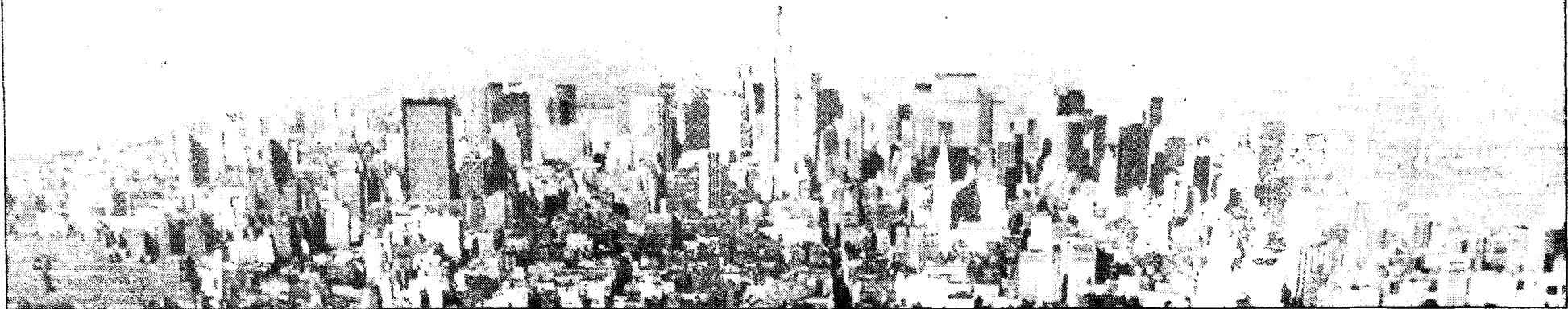
Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

LETTERS

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander

PERSPECTIVE



NYC corruption is built into system

By Jim Sleeper

A PARODY A FEW YEARS ago—*Not the New York Post*—reported the beginning of World War III, but assured readers that even amid the devastation "Essential City Services Continue." A photo showed a smartly uniformed New York City meter maid standing in rubble next to the twisted hulks of illegally parked cars, writing out tickets.

Now we know why. Federal and state investigators have uncovered an extensive extortion ring apparently run by elected and agency officials taking kickbacks from private collection firms hired by the city to track down scofflaws. In some municipal agencies, not only in New York but also in Chicago and Washington, D.C., where similar schemes have come to light, "essential city services" turn out to be those which feed the private greed of public servants.

But why? What accounts for the amazing tenacity of municipal corruption, as much under "reform" mayors like Ed Koch and Harold Washington as under "machine" mayors like Chicago's Richard Daley and Boston's James Michael Curley who virtually ran the scams themselves?

Goo-goos and gumshoes

Newspaper op-ed pages have been filled with partial answers. First, it's noted that virtual one-party systems regnant in many localities—the Republican machine of New York's scandal-ridden Nassau County no less than the Democratic fiefdoms of New York City itself—place no checks on even the most corrupt, incompetent patronage. We need viable alternative parties able to watch-dog and defeat the incumbents.

A corollary argument made recently by New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan is that "reformers" within the dominant parties who fancy themselves above politics-as-usual aren't enough. In throwing the rascals out, they throw out party discipline, too—a serious mistake, Moynihan feels. When urban machines were tightly run and city budgets were growing, political plunder was a routinized and relatively harmless way to get out the vote; now, mass media campaigning, civil service patronage curbs, fiscal austerity and "good government" party reform have left the old machines more stagnant than regnant, fit only for plunder—all without creating truly disciplined alternatives.

Second, when party discipline falters and mass media becomes the only way to reach voters, politicians must sell out to wealthy interests to pay for air time. Ed Koch's subservience to real estate in-

terests, which are to New York what oil is to Houston, is the emblem of this subtle, legal and pervasive corruption of municipal priorities in the '80s.

Third—and this is not so often acknowledged—the "shadow government" of investigative reporters and prosecutors who supposedly monitor the new order are part of the problem because they ignore its causes: the media wait until scandals are sensational—and hence atypical—while prosecutors have to focus on what's strictly illegal—and hence often irrelevant.

By their nature, reporters and prosecutors miss the "legal graft" of real estate and other campaign contributions, and they miss the deepening apathy of voters cut off from effective party organizations. So we stagger from scandal to scandal, learning little amid all the indictments and headlines, about the real roots of modern corruption.

The most obvious symptom of the way the "shadow government" feeds off the old corruption while ignoring the new is the cheap heroics and career jockeying in the press and prosecutors' offices. When Queens Borough President Donald Manes first attempted suicide on the eve of the New York scandal in January, reporters who'd slumbered contentedly through his sophisticated real estate deals could be found leaping from behind bushes on his front lawn, firing lurid questions at his exhausted family. One reporter tried to make Manes' 22-year-old son slug him—good copy, if you can get it.

Prosecutors proved equally hungry for headlines. Local district attorneys squabbled over investigatory turf with the federal prosecutors actually conducting the probe, endangering the investigation itself. Even at their best, prosecutors hunting for irregularities displayed an irritatingly self-righteous ignorance of the reality that if politicians are to govern at all, they have to reward mobilized constituencies by bringing them into an administration responsive to their needs and agendas. Sanctimonious indictments on technicalities only drive patronage underground, making it worse.

The willful political innocence of good government reformers, journalists and prosecutors thus lends an eerie unreality and hypocrisy to their corruption-fighting charades. What they fail to acknowledge is that, long before sting operations begin, we in effect "set up" our public officials for corruption by asking them to govern in a twilight zone between the "private affluence and public squalor" that John Kenneth Galbraith saw in our civic life 20 years ago.

First, we Americans starve our urban public sector even in the best of times (the War on Poverty cost a pittance, and its initiatives were fickle by European stan-

dards). Then, when government fails and people are left fighting over its crumbs, we indulge an easy contempt for it as a stepchild or whipping boy of the larger political economy that created poverty and other problems. That contempt, and the imbalance between private affluence and public squalor that nourishes it, makes corruption all but inevitable; it's hard to see how even a publicly financed two-party system can deliver frustrated public officials from temptation.

We expect them, after all, to mediate the inherently exploitative relationships between, say, senior citizens waiting in the cold for buses that don't come and wealthy schemers who not only don't pay their fair share of taxes for those buses but who siphon off what tax base there is into luxury housing, grand prix race tracks (a pet Manes project) and other dubious "public" works. We let politicians craft the tax breaks and contract provisions that make the pillaging legal. Some deals spur needed development, but many merely drain the basic public services without which no city can flourish long.

The politician's bind

At some level, that demoralizes politicians. True, they get the campaign contributions and patronage that enable them to build machines, and with these they can put down any pillagers or grass roots rebels who fail to court them. The power to do that is politics' chief attraction to its ablest practitioners: "Let them come to me," they love to say.

But the contributions come wrapped in the subtle contempt of donors far wealthier than the political recipients, and the

latter also have to contend with the contempt of citizens hard pressed by the decay of the services upon which they have every right to depend. Pols try to replace some of the lost revenue with public lotteries that play upon the escapist fantasies of the deprived, further eroding the values of merit and sacrifice for the common good so essential to civic life. No wonder the "underdogs" strike back in tax evasion, organized and unorganized crime and capricious votes for Lyndon LaRouche.

Even if a politician didn't enter public life to make money, the temptation becomes irresistible to extract a little extra-legal compensation for his hard life as the last exemplar of civic purity in the twilight zone between private affluence and public squalor. "Where's my cut?" he asks, noting that "everybody else," from lobbyists to defensive neighborhood groups, treats his public service as a means to their own self-aggrandizement, not an instrument of socially useful public purpose.

The only long-run solution is to stop feeding private affluence through public squalor. The reformers, journalists and prosecutors haven't really raised that problem, though public campaign financing that attracts statesmen instead of hustlers is a start. Without a more fundamental renegotiation of public and private sector prerogatives in setting urban priorities, all the electronic surveillance and investigative reporting in the world won't free public officials from corrupt temptations. ■

Jim Sleeper teaches in New York University's metropolitan studies program. He was a speech writer for New York City Council President Carol Bellamy from 1980-82.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.



A century ago, an act of terrorism in Chicago was a "godsend to the enemies of the labor movement."

By David Montgomery

THE YEAR 1886 WILL BE known as the year of the great uprising of labor," wrote George E. McNeill. During the 25 years he had been prominent in the cause of labor reform McNeill had never seen anything like it. "Every branch of labor was affected" by the wave of organizing and strikes that swept the country between the summer of 1885 and that of 1887. German furniture workers in Cincinnati, black quarrymen in Richmond, Irish street car drivers in New York, Chinese cigar makers in San Francisco, Chicano villagers in the New Mexican territory, Jewish garment workers in Chicago and New York and women textile operatives from Lowell to Augusta, Ga., were but some of the hundreds of thousands of workers who joined trade unions or assemblies of the Knights of Labor in those years. "Hope seemed to have entered the heart of the most oppressed," McNeill observed. "It was the very dawning of the day when the term 'dignity of labor' meant something."

No single organization guided this uprising, nor was it confined to any one issue or form of struggle. Workingmen's electoral tickets appeared under a variety of names in more than 180 towns and cities; cooperative enterprises flourished in the manufacture of barrels, clothing, musical instruments, coffins and chewing tobacco; massive parades and rallies became commonplace; hundreds of boycotts were imposed against unfair employers; and the labor press gained thousands of new readers and added scores of new

titles to the established ranks of the *Irish World*, *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and *Journal of United Labor*. Workers' demands in most of the 1,432 recorded strikes of 1886 focused on wages. It was the scope and variety of working-class mobilization that placed "the dignity of labor" at the center of public discourse.

As was the case in every great upsurge of working-class struggle between the 1830s and the 1930s, however, workers' hunger for dignity was most clearly expressed by their demand not to spend all their lives working for someone else's enrichment. A song written 20 years earlier enjoyed special popularity in 1886:

*The beasts that graze the hillside,
and the birds that wander free,
In this life that God has mated
have a better lot than we.
Oh! Hands and hearts are weary,
and homes are heavy with dole;
If our life's to be filled with drudgery,
what need of a human soul?
Shout, shout the lusty rally from
shipyards, shop and mill,
Eight hours for work, eight hours
for rest, eight hours for what
we will!*

The demand for an eight-hour day had dominated labor's agenda for two decades. As Karl Marx noted, "The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation."

Popular campaigns had persuaded Illinois, Connecticut, New York, Wisconsin, California, Missouri and Pennsylvania to enact ineffective laws declaring eight hours "a legal day's work" between 1866 and 1868, and a huge trade union demonstration in Chicago on May 1, 1867, had attempted to "enforce" the Illinois law. A strike for eight hours by construction, metal trades and furniture workers had halted most manufacturing in New York City in 1872; and the demand had resounded again through many other cities during the national strike wave of July 1877. Consequently, when the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions at its 1884 convention fixed May 1, 1886, as the date for a nation-wide effort to establish the eight-hour day, it planted seeds in well tilled soil.

Moreover, a new working class had developed in America since the middle of the century. Immigrants from Europe and Asia and their children dominated the urban labor force everywhere except in the South, where they were joined by former slaves. Although ethnic antagonisms ran deep among working people, their shared experience of earning wages and living in urban settings where the more privileged classes looked down on them all had fostered the

growth of a working-class movement that many European socialists looked on with envy. Reflecting on the events of May 1886 the German socialist Eduard Bernstein wrote that American workers "are neither more insightful nor better schooled than the European workers, but they are better fed and accustomed to a better life than here, they live in free air, in a country where it has not 'always been this way.'"

The optimism and diversity of the burgeoning American movement were especially evident in Chicago. Three weeks before May 1st, 7,000 men and women jam-

med into a Saturday night rally for the eight-hour day at the city's Cavalry Armory, while twice that number gathered outside. The meeting had been called by the Knights of Labor and the city's Trades and Labor Assembly. Most of the speakers were Irish and British, with friendly ties to the administration of Mayor Carter Harrison, and they included several clergymen. They said that the justice of the workers' demands assured them victory, according to the *Chicago Tribune*, but advised them to prepare for the First of May, when "the clink of the ham-



Lucy Parsons

A Pictorial History of American Labor

Although ethnic antagonisms ran deep among working people, their shared experience of earning wages and living in urban settings—where privileged classes looked down on them all—had fostered the growth of a working-class movement.

mer and the turn of the wheel should stop and the fires be drawn resolutely until capitalism 'came down.'"

One week later, the International Working People's Association and its affiliated Central Labor Union staged a parade with seven bands, 10,000 participants and even more spectators, featuring red flags and the strains of the "Marseillaise." Its participants were described by the *Tribune* as "mostly communistic Germans, Bohemians and Poles."

The movement, which called itself anarchist or social revolutionary, had become deeply rooted in the neighborhoods of Central European immigrants since the mid-'70s and had enrolled more members than the English-speaking craft organizations. Its press, meetings and theatrical demonstrations had made such leaders as Albert and Lucy Parsons, August Spies and Lizzie Holmes admired by thousands of the city's workers and despised by its bourgeoisie.

On May 1 more than 30,000 workers were on strike in Chicago, and during the next four days every available meeting room in the city seemed to be occupied by men and women enrolling into unions and debating strategy. News reports from New York, San Francisco and Boston told of monster rallies. Strikes in Cincinnati shut down more work with each passing day. In strike-torn Milwaukee the eight-hour struggle was "the topic of conversation in the shop, on the street, at the family table, at the bar [and] in the counting room," according to Wisconsin's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Ideological currents

Beneath the surface of this apparent unity, however, ran two very different ideological currents. One was encouraged by the leaders of the craft unions and many Knights of Labor: it appealed to America's republican and Christian heritage, stressed peaceful agitation and offered to defer wage demands to some future time if employers would reduce hours. The other was promoted by social revolutionaries: they marched on Easter Sunday behind banners proclaiming "No God, No Slaves," proclaimed revolutionary goals and rallied the poorest workers with a demand for eight hours' work with 10 hours' pay.

Both currents were strong among the 1,400 workers who had been on strike at Chicago's McCormick harvester works since February. The company had fought its workers with machines designed to replace skilled molders, scabs recruited by its salesmen from all over the West and liberal use of police clubs commanded by Inspector John Bonfield, whom Mother Jones later recalled as "a most brutal believer in suppression as the method to settle industrial unrest." Although the strike had almost collapsed, it was so reinvigorated by the May 1 campaign that half the strikebreakers walked out. On Monday, May 3, striking lumberyard workers held a rally addressed by August Spies close to the McCormick plant, where strikers from the harvester works joined them. When scabs began to file out of the factory, they were driven back into the plant by hundreds of participants from the rally. Inspector Bonfield's police soon arrived, clubbing and shooting demonstrators, and leaving two dead.

The anarchists called a meeting

Milwaukee's own Haymarket affair

As the bloody events in Haymarket unfolded in Chicago workers in Milwaukee were striking for the eight-hour day. But their efforts ended when seven workers were killed by militia gunfire at the city's Bay View Rolling Mills steel plant.

A powerful movement for the shorter work week had developed in Milwaukee in the spring of 1886. An observer noted, "The agitation for the eight-hour day permeated our entire social atmosphere. Skilled and unskilled laborers formed unions or assemblies. Men, and even women, contributed money and time. It was the topic of conversation." In March the city council agreed to establish an eight-hour day. This spurred a growth of unionism in many workplaces. Tobacco manufacturers and more than 20 other firms adopted the eight-

hour day.

But other employers refused to reduce working time and strikes spread quickly in April. By May 1, 7,000 carpenters, broom makers, laborers, bakers, brewery workers and others had downed tools. On Sunday, May 2, a crowd of 15,000 paraded through the city, waving their union banners and calling for the eight-hour day. The following day a strike wave rolled from plant to plant. Several hundred laborers marched down the tracks of the Milwaukee railroad calling upon others to join the strike. They succeeded in shutting down most of the city's large manufacturers, but not the Bay View Rolling Mills, a large steel plant in an industrial area next to the port of Milwaukee. A group of 700 strikers marched to the Rolling Mills. They asked to meet with the Roll-

ing Mills workers, members of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers. The request was denied. Meanwhile, Gov. Rusk came to Milwaukee and ordered out the militia. That night 350 militia were stationed in the Rolling Mills.

At dawn on May 5 the strikers assembled again. By 6:00 a.m. a group of 1,500 marched once more on the Rolling Mills. Positioned on a hill at the entrance to the plant, the militia was ordered to "wait for the order to fire, take aim, pick out your man and kill him." The marchers halted with 200 yards separating them from the militia. Then they moved forward again. Shots rang out.

The gunfire killed five strikers, a retired mill worker and a young boy who had followed the march out of curiosity. The toll would have been higher, but most militiamen refused to kill fellow

to protest the police action for the next evening, May 4, in Haymarket Square. The assembled crowd was angry but peaceful, and not very large by the standards to which Chicago had become accustomed. Mayor Harrison was present. He listened to Spies, Parsons and Fielden address the crowd, then went to the police station to tell Bonfield that the meeting was "tame." As Fielden was finishing his speech to an assembly that gathering rain clouds had reduced to 300, Bonfield's police suddenly appeared, approaching at quick time. Halting near the speakers' stand, they commanded the meeting to disperse. A bomb sailed through the air and went off in the midst of the police, wounding several of them. The police then drew their guns and fired wildly for several minutes, while the crowd fled. When the shooting was over, 67 policemen lay wounded—one of whom [Matthias Degan] died quickly and six others in the next weeks—and an estimated seven civilians were dead and 30 to 40 wounded. Almost half of the wounded police had been struck by police bullets. Only policemen had been shooting.

For the next few weeks police dragnets swept through workers' neighborhoods, breaking up meet-

Labor's response

The labor movement was stunned and divided by these events. Unions of German immigrants, beleaguered by police raids and denounced as "bloody scoundrels" by the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* and other prominent German-American papers, closed ranks around their convicted comrades, as did many immigrant fraternal organizations. But General Master Workman Powderly and other leaders of the Knights of Labor denounced the anarchists as "entitled to no more consideration than wild beasts." Only gradually did an in-

creasing number of English-speaking trade unionists and Knights come to agree with *John Swinton's Paper* that the bomb had been "a godsend to the enemies of the labor movement," and the trial "an outrage against evidence, law, decency, fair play, reason, justice, freedom, human nature and the Constitution."

As legal appeals were exhausted and the date set for execution approached, petitions for clemency poured into the office of Gov. Richard Oglesby from unions and trade assemblies all over the country, and from the new American Federation of Labor. In vain: only the sentences of Fielden and Schwab were commuted to life imprisonment. A cigar bomb killed Lingg in his cell. Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fischer were hanged on Nov. 11, 1887. Six years later Gov. John Peter Altgeld pardoned Fielden and Schwab with a ringing denunciation of their trial.

The bloody repression in Chicago did not stem the nationwide tide of strikes, boycotts, unionization and electoral activity. But it did set the tone for prosecution of many boycotters and for the widespread mobilization of middle-class voters into law-and-order committees to resist labor's demands. Unions of unskilled workers and factory operatives suffered especially heavy losses during the bitterly contested strikes and lockouts of the following year. Effective support for the eight-hour movement reverted in that context mainly to craft unions. The AFL fixed May 1, 1890, as the date for a renewed effort, picked the carpenters' union to lead the way and supported its strikers with hundreds of rallies in towns and cities around the land.

The founding congress of the Second International, which met in Paris July 14, 1889, on the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution, also designated May 1, 1890, as a day for workers' actions everywhere on behalf of the shorter day. Just how much influence the American initiatives had on this decision is a matter of controversy among historians, but the trial and execution of the Chicago anarchists had clearly outraged European workers' movements. French anarchists suggested that the recently inaugurated Statue of Liberty be renamed "the Goddess of Murder." Socialist delegates to the International's founding convention had inserted plants from the graves of the Chicago anarchists into the wall dedicated to the 20,000 com-

munards executed in 1871. Spanish and Portuguese anarchists established November 11 as a day of commemoration for the Chicago martyrs. Moreover, the American example of fighting for the eight-hour day through strike action won the endorsement of French and Spanish labor federations. Although German and Scandinavian socialists preferred rallies and legislative action to strikes, all workers' movements in Europe agreed to fix May 1 to celebrate workers' hopes for a better life. The date chosen by the movement fit with working-class practice: most late 19th-century strikes began around the beginning of May even before the decision.

Many memorable May Days have taken place since that time, as working people have rededicated their efforts to the end of drudgery and to the enjoyment of life. During the McCarthyism of the 1950s our government sought to suppress that meaning by proclaiming May 1 Loyalty Day—later softened by the Eisenhower administration to Law Day. This year's commemoration of the Haymarket centennial reminds us of the day's original significance and of the prophecy spoken by August Spies from the gallows: "The time will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

One hundred years after Bay View, the Wisconsin Labor History Society and the Milwaukee Labor Council sponsored a ceremony to tell the story of "the other Haymarket."

—Darryl Holter



Haymarket: imaginary evidence; real hangings.

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MEDIA B E A T

Mergermania

Media mergers reached an all-time high last year, raising questions about concentration of ownership, and also about the dangers of information-twisting by the new owners. Maverick megadealer and CNN mogul Ted Turner, in an interview in *Broadcasting*, raised the alarm about the merger between GE and RCA; a major defense contractor, he argued, could push the arms race on its new TV and radio stations. "Their arms business will be bigger than the network business—that's not good," he said, arguing that arms races lead inevitably to war. "I mean, look at Reagan: he's out there flexing his muscles right now.... He's picking a fight with one nation of two million people in Nicaragua, less people than there are in Atlanta. And the other one is four million Arabs in the sand over there in Libya run by a nut." The next week, head of ABC/Capital Cities Leonard Goldenson, who shepherded ABC into the merger, told a thousand business executives that mergermania could be bad news for broadcasting. The fast trades were producing "growing legions of investment bankers and deal makers—and a bottomless ocean of debt." That sacred shareholder to whom the megacorporations are responsible, he said, may well be a broker who only holds the hot stock for a few hours. And what once was basic to broadcasting—the notion of "stewardship"—may disappear before the bottom line. "We are entrusted with the power to communicate," he said, "to provide every American with news, information and entertainment programming on which they rely to know their world." But "I see a growing possibility that TV and radio stations could be flipped from owner to owner for quick profit, with little commitment to their communities and—burdened with excess debt—little to invest in creativity and community affairs." The process starts at the top: both ABC/Cap Cities and CNN dramatically cut news staffs the same week.

Hype and Dust on Public TV

"For a fabulous night on the town, spoil yourself or a client with a relaxing and comfortable evening in one of A&J's luxurious limousines featuring a retractable moon roof, color TV, stereo, cellular telephone, intercom and wet bar." With videoclips to match, this message was beamed to viewers of public TV recently, and even the easygoing FCC decided that the meaning of "enhanced underwriting" had been stretched too far. The underwriting rules are far laxer for local than for national programs, and it's now possible to hear slogans like "Everything you always wanted from a beer and less" on your local public radio station. That trend not only drives public interest advocates crazy, but it makes traditional underwriters like Herb Schmertz of Mobil Oil plenty mad. In a recent *Current* magazine article, he charged that such cheap hype was undercutting the value of Mobil's sponsorship, by weakening the difference between commercial and non-commercial broadcasting. "Commercial advertising and public television don't mix," he declared. His solution? Slap a license fee on commercial TV and radio stations. While the National Association of Broadcasters has already set up a task force to save public TV (broadcasters don't want more competition than they have), they don't want to go as far as Schmertz does. Their solution: slap a license fee on the television sets of consumers. The underwriting/advertising confusion has gotten so messy that the FCC is undertaking a "clarification" of its anything-goes rulings of 1984.

Preschool Consumer Training

In children's museums in Denver and Houston, you can see the postmodern sensibility emerging—with no edge at all between commerce and culture. There, kids can now play in "touch and see" rooms that are child-sized models of Safeway supermarkets, right down to diminutive "s"-logoed grocery bags. (One guess as to who the exhibit sponsor is.) The manager of the Houston museum says kids especially love to shop for cereals because they know the TV commercials by heart.

Boob Tube in South Africa

While the cultural boycott spreads in South Africa, some American TV shows are booming. South Africans can no longer watch *Knots Landing* or *Falcon Crest*, but *Dallas* continues top-rated, and new hits include *Miami Vice*, *The Cosby Show* and *Hill St. Blues*. (Some critics wonder whether the sight of black performers on U.S. TV shows will eventually have a subversive effect, but the government-controlled South African TV doesn't seem worried.) Some performers have objected; the stars of *Cagney and Lacey*, for instance, have pledged their South African royalties to the African National Congress. Not everyone watches the latest lineup from the U.S. networks. A few weeks ago, someone in the TV station in Durban hit the wrong switch and home viewers got to see what the technicians were illegally taping: an American porn video.

And now, Ramba

In Miami, a Nicaraguan exile is raising money for the *contras* by playing on movie fads. Maria (who doesn't want her last name known) posed in the Florida swamps dressed as a guerrilla for a fundraising poster. The local press now calls her "Ramba."

—Pat Aufderheide

By Lewis Beale

ANYONE INTERESTED IN A crash course on the banality of evil should check out *Race and Reason*, a public access cable TV show that can be seen on nearly a dozen cable outlets in California, Oregon, Texas and Pennsylvania. Essentially a talking-heads interview show for the far, far right, *Race and Reason* is hosted by 47-year-old Tom Metzger, a Fallbrook, Calif., electronics repairman who is a former head of the California Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the current leader of the White American Resistance. Affable and low-keyed, a pleasantly normal-looking man who dresses in conservative three-piece suits, Metzger looks as if he were an executive with a title insurance company. But the gaggle of grotesque guests that regularly appears on his show belies this image.

Recent guests on the two-year-old show have included a so-called revisionist historian who attempted to prove that the Holocaust wasn't all it was cracked up to be; representatives of the KKK and National Socialist Liberation Front; a director of the White Student Union; and a man identified as "an investigative reporter for the White American Resistance newspaper," who told *Race and Reason*'s viewership about the dreaded "Kosher food tax."

Is this what public access is all about? Or is *Race and Reason* a perverted mirror image of the access dream?

"I think [far right racist groups] have a right to be on public access," says George Stoney of New York University's Alternative Media Center. "We should encourage everyone to express their own opinions."

Stoney, who has been called the godfather of public access for his years of lobbying on behalf of community television, is not alone in his opinion. Almost all the stations that have been asked to air *Race and Reason* have, after some initial trepidation about the show's content, put it on their cable system.

"At first," says Metzger, "there's immediate negative reaction at the stations when we send in the tapes. They see the content and sort of say, 'Whoops.' Then they review it and put it on. Eventually they admit that it's pretty well done, even if they don't agree with the content."

Controversy

Metzger is certainly correct on one level: in the realm of public access, *Race and Reason* is the technological *ne plus ultra*. It's shot at a cable station in Orange County, Calif., using at least two cameras and is generally well edited. The tone of the interviews is sober and relatively professional, staying away from racist pejoratives. But the show's subject matter gives away Metzger's bias, as do such racist code phrases as "Jewish influence."

When the show first went on in Austin, Texas, such organizations as the Jewish Defense League, Black Citizens Task Force and John Brown Anti-Klan Committee appeared before the city cable commission and urged that *Race and Reason* be banned from the public airwaves. Even though the Austin city manager subsequently suggested the establishment of program content guidelines that would keep *Race and Reason* and other shows of its ilk off the air, city attorneys have consistently supported Austin Community Television's management of the public access channels.

In other areas, there has been an initial flurry of controversy when

the program first airs—some letters, a few angry phone calls—but it's short-lived. The briefness of the reaction is undoubtedly due to both public access' limited audience and the limited nature of Metzger's message. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), NAACP Legal Defense Fund and National Black Media Coalition claimed never even to have heard of the show when contacted by *In These Times*. But Jews and Jewish groups, who seem to be the primary object of *Race and Reason*'s prejudices, are another matter altogether.

"We would look with great concern at something like this," says

all of which *Race and Reason* is careful to avoid. Unlike KTTL-FM in Dodge City, Kansas, which was broadcasting tapes provided by the radical right-wing group Posse Comitatus that actively encouraged listeners to kill Jews (the station is now involved in a challenge to its licence renewal application), Metzger's show is as pure as the proverbial driven snow when it comes to violating public access strictures.

This really shouldn't come as a surprise, since Metzger is nothing if not media savvy. The *Race and Reason* host joined the Klan in 1975 and attracted media attention a year later when he came to the aid of 16 Marines at Camp Pendleton who

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

CABLE TV

Bigots borrow public access



were being transferred because they were admitted Klan members.

Metzger gained national notoriety in 1980, when he won the Democratic nomination for Congress in California's 43rd Congressional District. The national Democratic Party—caught completely by surprise, thanks to Metzger's razor-thin (318 votes) primary victory—eventually repudiated its own candidate. Metzger was also expelled from the San Diego County Democratic Party Central Committee because of his racist view. The Klan candidate was ultimately overwhelmed by the Republican incumbent in the general election but, undaunted, he vowed to form a White American Political Association to "fight illegal immigration" and "government rip-offs."

New outlet for bigotry

Metzger is only the latest in a long line of radicals who have attempted to twist the mass media to their own purposes. Cable access has, however, opened up a new outlet for the upwardly mobile bigot. For a minimal outlay of cash (because the cable outlet where Metzger does his taping donates the use of the studio and equipment, *Race and Reason* costs less than \$100 per show to produce), anyone with a message to convey can become a local TV star.

Metzger claims, "We have very little problem getting [the show] on in the more cosmopolitan and liberal areas. There are some honest liberals around, and they recognize that we belong on cable access."

There is no doubt that the cable access liberals understand what Tom Metzger is all about. Their reaction to the show can probably best be summed up by Bob Lucas of Carlsbad (Calif.) Cable, Metzger's "hometown" system, which after a year of stalling finally decided to go on the air with *Race and Reason*. Says Lucas, "I just don't want to be the conduit for racist propaganda, but we will air it. I see the First Amendment as a priority in the whole access controversy."

Lewis Beale is a freelance writer who lives in Philadelphia and covers the entertainment industry.

Fellini

(Continued from page 16)

His later films have betrayed a kind of exhaustion with the decadence he once found energizing. They have suffered from his typical weaknesses, a lack of structure and a shallowness of thought; meanwhile, his own personality has become the spectacle that his films once were. Commenting on *Fellini's Casanova*, Pauline Kael commented, "When an artist moves inward yet deals with his own spiritual crises on a spectacular and lavish scale, there is a conflict in form. Something goes rotten." Noting that his interviews were better entertainment than his films, she decided, "He has become the work of art."

Now Fellini seems to find himself in a situation where not even gigantesque egotism will serve. *Ginger and Fred* is his savage, witty and finally self-pitying paca to his plight. The world he has discovered on emerging out of the ruins of the decadent culture he both revelled in and reviled lacks an element that is key to his romantic quest: the individual.

Sensuality is rampant, but pleasure is gone; fantasy is present, but dreams are missing. Everyone's simultaneously a media figure and part of the audience, as participant-consumer. They are all moving parts of the mass culture machine. It never stops feeding non-existent appetites, as the dull repetitive chomp of the gumchewers remind you. And if it never satisfies, you may never

notice unless you're a throwback, a Rip Van Winkle of the arts. Fellini, the long-time crusader against social banalities, finds himself carping about rude manners.

You can't watch this film without being captivated by Fellini's many bad jokes at

the expense of all-video reality. But you can't help noticing, either, his wounded hostility. If *Ginger and Fred* offers cruelly accurate observation of the endlessly-diverting commercial world in which we are condemned to live, it does not affirm a way to

be humane within and beyond it. In *Ginger and Fred*, Fellini openly professes himself, as do his pathetically charming lead characters, outclassed by the ever-novel dream factory of daily life.

©Pat Aufderheide

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

CHICAGO, IL

May 1-31

Haymarket Centennial—Over 50 events commemorate the Haymarket Martyrs and 100 years of struggle for peace, equality and democracy. Marches, rallies, labor and international conferences, school curriculum, exhibits and cultural performances including Pete Seeger, Jane Sapp, Utah Phillips, John McCutcheon, "Peasant of El Salvador," Federal Theatre Project Archives and more. Call for complete calendar: (312) 643-3407.

May 2

Celebrate the 100th Anniversary of MAY DAY! Hear representatives from the African National Congress; FMLN-FDR, SECHABANC's cultural group; Gabino Palomares from Mexico; and more! Art exhibits, food, music. May 2nd at Benito Juarez High School, Cermak and Ashland. 6:30-11:00. Free admission. For more information, call 427-2539.

May 10

DSA's 28th Norman Thomas-Eugene V. Debs Annual dinner. Honoring Michael Harrington, national Co-Chair of DSA and Jacqueline B. Vaughn, President of Chicago Teachers Union. On the Haymarket Affair Centennial, Saturday, May 10, Ascot Hotel, 1100 S. Michigan Ave. Cocktails 6:00 p.m., Dinner 7:00 p.m. \$30 per person. For more information Democratic Socialists of America (312) 384-0327.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 2-4

New Directions Conference, May 2-4, Washington, D.C. Convention Center. Friday Night Plenary with Jesse Jackson, Lynn Williams, Barbara Ehrenreich and Michael Harrington. 7-10 p.m. Registration for Friday Night: \$5. Complete Conference Registration: \$45, \$25 low-income. Special Saturday Luncheon with Morton Bahr and Gloria Steinem, \$15. Join with other progressives for a new beginning. For more information: (212) 962-0390.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

May 7

Concert-reception tribute to Raoul Gustav Wallenberg. Academy of Music ballroom, Broad and Locust Streets, 8:00 p.m. Admission \$25 (\$50 with reception), patron listing

\$100 (includes concert and reception); tax deductible. The Wallenberg Committee of Greater Philadelphia, Inc., c/o Philadelphia Art Alliance, 251 South 18th St., Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215) 472-0989.

BOSTON, MA

June 2-8

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By Pat Aufderheide

FEDERICO FELLINI HAS TRAVELED A long way with the mass cultural express, sometimes seeming even to outpace it. Now with *Ginger and Fred* it's as if he's given up the race. Life has gotten weirder and less dreamy than his capacity to invent.

Ginger and Fred is a wistful film, surprisingly coherent and unpretentious, from cinema's master of the grandiose and grotesque. (He's revealingly right in saying he would have liked to run a circus if he couldn't make movies.) Its undercurrent is a mean spirit of loss, though, expressed as a punishing judgment of today's video entertainment world.

The old meets the new here, in a typically bold metaphor. And as usual, there are strong autobiographical overtones, with the lead characters together making up an alter ego for the director. Giulietta Masina, Fellini's wife and star of, among so many others, *La Strada* and *Juliet of the Spirits*, plays a long-retired imitator of Ginger Rogers. Marcello Mastroianni plays the other half of the team, an imitator of Fred Astaire. They've been called back to the stage to perform, this time on a TV Christmas special.

When these Rip Van Winkles of popular entertainment wake up, the sustaining magic of the illusionist's world is gone. Today's entertainment has been industrialized—the television program flunkies communicate the only valuable information through walkie-talkies, and performers are given numbered places at which to wait before going on stage as if they were parts of an assembly line. Graceless, bored, gum-chewing youngsters herd them through careless rehearsals in which only the technical is important. Basic civility is gone, as “Ginger” learns when one of the bored technicians asks her age, not because he's interested but because it will “sell” their act as a nostalgia item to the restlessly sentimental, anonymous audience. The glitzy show host soullessly performs his role, treating them as components of his product.

Not that the Van Winkles don't have their problems. “Ginger” exasperatedly tries to convince tired, drunken “Fred” to observe minimal professional standards, but he's too much in love with his vices and private fears of death to concentrate (Fellini's self-indulgence always surfaces in his male characters.)

Yet once the aged performers get on stage, the magic comes back. Not even “Fred”'s alarming fall before an audience of millions can take away their act's power to charm, because the magic is in their will to fantasy, not in technical skill. Nostalgia—Fellini's nostalgia for a world in which the distinction between illusion and reality still existed—wins, at least for a moment. And that victory occurs not least because Masina and Mastroianni really are veteran entertainers who can make us believe that “The show must go on!” is a kind of truth worth at least crying for.

Empty promises

Ginger and Fred has been taken as an indictment of television, but television's not the culprit, at least not by itself. True, pornographic music videos lurk in the background of this Rome that's a slight sci-fi twist on present reality; TV screens are everywhere, including the buses; billboards linking lust and underwear assault the traveler. The constant feeding of pseudo-desire has become a necessary addiction, as you can see from the variety show host's interview with a woman whom the show has paid to go without television for a week. She breaks down in sobs, saying, “It's too cruel, especially for children and old people.”

Television is only one of many feeding posts, however. It's advertisement that defines this landscape—all of it advertisement for itself. The TV variety show is called “We Are Proud to Present...”, and the action is in the presenting, not in what is presented. The glum faces of the station personnel belie the slogan, and that's just one



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**Fellini,
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in the
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example of the constant betrayal that Fellini is hellbent on hammering us with. A huge flashing ad in the train station reads, “You'll feel happier and stronger when you...” and we never learn what we should do. “Keep Rome Clean!” commands a huge billboard in front of huge piles of burning garbage, that nobody but “Ginger” seems to notice. Image has thoroughly overtaken reality for the young. When one of the television flunkies gets flowers to offer a show guest, she says, apparently puzzled, “They're supposed to be flowers.”

In this brave new world, everyone, not just “Ginger” and “Fred,” is an imitator, a media figure, a star. The imitator-performers adopt figures that used to belong to the high culture; we meet “Proust,” and everyone's looking for “Kafka.” A mafioso released in manacles from prison in order to appear on the Christmas special and a doddering general dosed with heart stimulants are as much media stars as the performers.

The silly romantic world of the movies has lost its special claim to charm. The creative imagination that the artist keeps alive has been dispersed throughout ad agencies, publicity houses, TV stations and other myriad outlets of a culture for sale. And that dispersal robs Fellini of the theme that has informed his work—the crisis of individual creativity (his own, of course, as a prime example) in modern civilization.

Magic realism

Fellini may seem the master of the fantastic, but his roots are in the Italian neorealist movement of the immediate postwar period. While he rejected the documentary impulse of colleagues such as his mentor Roberto Rosellini, his goal, like theirs, was to capture a radical truth of a situation. His earliest films, such as *Variety Lights* and *I Vitelloni*, carried a double assignment: to strip away masks of social pretension, and to reveal the magic inherent in real life.

He was Europe's magical realist, cinema's outrageous romantic. His constant theme was the liberation of the individual creative spirit from the deadening influence of the mundane. His heroes, none of them without flaws, were artists. His heroines, all of them in some way victims, were vessels of the transcendent imagination.

As consumer society engulfed postwar Italy, Fellini became the chronicler, even celebrator, of decadence and of alienation in the midst of plenty. From *La Dolce Vita* to *8 1/2* and *Fellini Satyricon*, he used fabulous excess to capture the irrational, the sensual, the passionate impulses of the individual.

Fellini could sell sentimentality with a flair for stage management that rivals that of Ingmar Bergman, another cinema artist whose intellectual gifts have been vastly overrated. He had style, not sophistication; the judgment of critic David Thomson is harsh but acute: “Fellini's style is very sparse and undeveloped. He has seldom done more than arrange elaborate grotesque tableaux for the camera or listen to idle chatter from his characters.”

But even if Fellini was offering nothing more than a *grand guignol* view of capitalist culture, his spectacles perversely captured the irrational ironies of a self-proclaimed rational way of life. His high egotism, his autobiographical self-absorption, could be seen as anarchic impudence.

In his definitive *Italian Cinema* (a book that is an inspiring model for historical analysis of film in society), Peter Bondanella argues that if Fellini's work has enduring value, it is in “the image of the completely liberated creator.” “All he has to offer his audience,” writes Bondanella, “is his celebration and affirmation of life and the passion with which he pursues his own personal vision.”

In the '70s that passion surfaced in ever more perverse ways. “I feel that decadence is indispensable to rebirth,” he said in this period. “So I am happy to be living at a time when everything is capsizing...” He was searching, he claimed, for new truths, to reject bankrupt history and the social constraints of a dying culture.

Continued on page 15